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ABSTRACT

This partial compilation of the oversight hearings of the ninety-sixth congress on the lasting effects of Head Start contains statements from the following: John Calhoun, Commissioner of the Administration for Children, Youth, and Families; Dr. Francis Palmer, president of the Merrill-Palmer Institute; and Dr. David Weikart, president of the High/Scope Foundation. Their statements summarize educational research bearing on the effectiveness of Head Start programs. The hearings were conducted before the Subcommittee on Human Resources of the Committee on Education and Labor in the House of Representatives. (Author/SS)

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OVERSIGHT ON HEAD START: LASTING EFFECTS

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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HEARING

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON HUMAN RESOURCES

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

NINETY-SIXTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

HEARING HELD IN WASHINGTON, D.C., ON
FEBRUARY 20, 1980

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OVERSIGHT ON HEAD START: LASTING EFFECTS

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 20, 1980

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON HUMAN RESOURCES,
COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR,
Washington, D.C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:05 a.m. in room 2257, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Ike Andrews (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Members present: Representatives Andrews, Corrada, Kildee, and Coleman.

Staff present: Gordon A. Raley, staff director; Deborah L. Hall, clerk; John E. Dean, minority legislative associate; and Jennifer Vance, minority senior legislative associate.

OPENING STATEMENT OF CONGRESSMAN ANDREWS

Mr. ANDREWS. Good morning, ladies and gentlemen.

This spring Head Start will celebrate its 15th birthday. Pursuant to its oversight responsibility for the Head Start program, the Subcommittee on Human Resources convenes this morning to review the results of a recently released report which seems to speak well for the work Head Start has been doing and bodes well for the future of this program, promising many happy returns.

This study, which was funded by the Administration for Children, Youth and Families, indicates that low-income and disadvantaged children who participate in preschool programs such as Head Start tend to enjoy a better chance of succeeding in school and undergo a marked improvement on their self-image. After having followed some children for as long as 19 years, researchers maintain that by helping prevent unemployment, delinquency, and learning handicaps, programs such as Head Start are not only cost effective but may even pay for themselves by reducing the need for other tax-supported services. In short, in addition to positively touching the lives of the children, it seems Head Start may, in plain talk, be a good investment.

This morning we are pleased to have with us two of the original researchers who participated in the study: Dr. David Weikart and Dr. Frank Palmer. Dr. Weikart, as I understand, did his work in Michigan, while Dr. Palmer worked with youngsters in Harlem.

In addition, we have with us two Federal officials charged with the responsibility for administering the Head Start program, John A. Calhoun, Commissioner for the Administration for Children, Youth, and Families, and Barbara Kamara, Associate Commissioner for Developmental Services.

Ms. Kamara, I am pleased to note. is a neighbor of mine from Greensboro, N.C. She told me earlier this morning that she was in Greensboro for some 9 years.

I am informed that Mr. Calhoun was officially sworn into his new position only last week, and I believe this is the first opportunity for both he and Ms. Kamara to appear before the subcommittee, and our first opportunity to have him do so.

Mr. Calhoun, we congratulate you and are pleased to hear from you at this time.

I believe that Mr. James L. Robinson is with you. If he would come with you and, Ms. Kamara, if you would come to the witness table, please. Barbara, if you and perhaps one of the gentlemen could remain after your formal testimony to answer any questions which may arise, it would be helpful.

Would you do that?

Ms. KAMARA. Yes.

Mr. ANDREWS. We are pleased to have Mr. Coleman, the distinguished ranking minority member of the subcommittee with us. He has made some very valuable contributions to the subcommittee, and he joins me and perhaps others who will arrive shortly.

If you have prepared statements, we leave it to you. I very much encourage you to submit your statement for the record and simply talk, but that is your prerogative, either to read your statement or submit it.

Mr. Calhoun, we look forward to hearing from you.

[The prepared statement of John A. Calhoun III, follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF JOHN A. CALHOUN, COMMISSIONER, ADMINISTRATION FOR CHILDREN, YOUTH AND FAMILIES, DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE

Mr. Chairman, and members of the subcommittee, I am John A. Calhoun, Commissioner of the Administration for Children, Youth and Families. Accompanying me this morning is Barbara Ferguson Kamara, Associate Commissioner for Developmental Services, and James L. Robinson, Associate Director of the Head Start Bureau.

First, I would like to express my agency's appreciation for the consistent support that this subcommittee has given over the years to Project Head Start and other programs benefiting children and families.

I welcome the opportunity to testify regarding the findings of the Consortium for Longitudinal Studies and of other research projects focused on early intervention programs. The results of these studies clearly have important implications for Head Start and similar programs affecting poor and minority children and families in America.

As I'm sure you have noted, the national media in recent months have highlighted the success of Head Start and other early childhood programs. The principal cause of this unusual press coverage of early intervention programs was the publication of the report, "Lasting Effects After Preschool" by the Consortium for Longitudinal Studies.

In my remarks today, I shall assess the findings of the consortium from the perspective of the Administration for Children, Youth and Families; summarize the results of other research on the impact of Head Start; and briefly identify the implications of this research for the development of policies relating to children and families.

CONSORTIUM FOR LONGITUDINAL STUDIES

Funded by ACYF, the consortium is a collaborative effort of 12 prominent researchers who conducted independent studies in the sixties of children in Head Start and other types of preschool programs. Their original research

projects—each with a careful experimental and evaluation design—included data from IQ, achievement, and other psychological tests, as well as information on family background, income, and other characteristics of the children.

These researchers agreed to turn the data from their independent studies over to Cornell University for reanalysis. They further agreed to track down the children originally tested in the sixties and evaluate them again, this time using a uniform battery of tests.

When the researchers gathered the followup data in 1976–77, they tested 600 children who ranged from 9 to 19 years of age.

The findings demonstrate clearly that early intervention programs have lasting effects. When compared to a control group, the children who had attended Head Start and other preschool programs 10 years ago were far less likely to be held back a grade or assigned to special education classes. Participation in preschool programs had also increased achievement in math, improved cognitive and language development, and favorably influenced the achievement orientation of children and mothers.

It should be pointed out that the programs in this study were not all typical Head Start programs, although some were Head Start sponsored. They were in most instances experimental projects. However, they employed some of the preschool education and child development practices emphasized in the Head Start performance standards that apply to all of our programs. We believe that these findings offer persuasive evidence of the long-term worth of Head Start and other well-designed and carefully implemented early education programs.

OTHER HEAD START RESEARCH AND EVALUATION STUDIES

In view of the attention that has been given the consortium by the media, it would be well to emphasize the extensive availability of other Head Start research that points to similar conclusions. We do not want to leave you with the impression that our judgment of the success of Head Start rests only on this collaborative study, however noteworthy.

In 1977, George Washington University published "A Review of Head Start Research Since 1969" which pulled together the results of over 50 research and evaluation projects, many of which describe the effects of regular Head Start programs.

The outcomes detailed in this vast body of Head Start research exactly parallel the impact described in the consortium's report. Head Start gains reported in the more than 50 studies included the following:

Improvement in the children's performance on school achievement tests, including reading; gains in cognitive development; and fewer grade retentions and special class placements.

A positive impact on child socialization and the development of socially mature behavior.

Lower absenteeism from school, fewer cases of anemia, more immunizations, better nutritional practices, and generally better health.

A positive impact on the attitudes of Head Start parents toward their children; favorable changes in interactions between mothers and their children; and an increase in later parent participation in public schools.

About a year ago, the results of a major 2-year evaluation of Head Start services to handicapped children was released. This study provided convincing evidence of the benefits of a Head Start experience to handicapped children, who account for roughly 12 percent of Head Start enrollment.

This evaluation covered handicapped children enrolled in both Head Start and other preschool programs. The children in the Head Start and non-Head Start programs benefited relative to the handicapped children who were not enrolled in any program. During a 1-year period, speech-impaired children showed dramatic gains of more than 6 months in communication age. Children with other handicapping conditions showed improved functioning.

In all instances, Head Start participants gained as much, or more, than handicapped children in other programs. This evaluation underscores the extent to which Head Start is in the forefront of provision of services to the preschool handicapped child in a mainstream setting—a setting in which handicapped and nonhandicapped children can learn from one another and play with nonhandicapped children.

WHAT HAVE WE LEARNED?

What have we learned from these studies that can help in shaping better programs and policies for children and their families in the future? Certain lessons stand out:

First, we now know that Head Start and other well-designed, early intervention programs produce clear and lasting gains that positively affect both the child's and the family's future chances of succeeding.

Second, we know that not all programs produce such benefits, but only those that incorporate key aspects of exemplary practices in preschool education and child development. These factors include the following:

Involvement of parents.—The parent is the child's first and best teacher, and the family is the most important influence on the child's development.

Quality teachers.—After the parents, the child's teacher is the most important factor in program success. We are striving to upgrade teacher quality in Head Start through training programs, such as the competency-based child development associate program—known as CDA—and through seminars on working with handicapped children in mainstreamed classrooms.

Comprehensive services.—These include education, parent involvement and social services; dental, nutrition and health services; and mental health services, which in combination, foster the child's overall development in the context of the family. The program must also include needed special services for handicapped children.

As you know, in fiscal year 1978, Congress added $150 million to the Head Start budget for the first major expansion of the program since it was started in 1965.

But, even with this expansion, Head Start only serves about 20 percent of all preschool children living in poverty in the United States—or about one out of every five eligible children. The program is currently serving about 10,000 migrant children, yet it has been estimated that there are about 300,000 children of migratory farm workers under the age of 6 in the United States.

The Head Start program has demonstrated the capacity to expand and to provide benefits to poor and minority children and their families. Support for the administration's request for an additional $90 million in Head Start funds in fiscal year 1981 is essential if these benefits are to continue in the future. In particular, these funds would support cost-of-living increases for Head Start staff to keep a quality community-based effort organized and moving forward. The increase would also permit some expansion of enrollment consistent with the Head Start allocation formula. In addition, it would lead to increased enrollment of the severely underserved migrant child, and stimulate greater availability of training and technical assistance support—especially relating to training in program and fiscal management, social services and parent involvement as well as teacher training efforts such as the child development associate concept.

Drawing on what we've learned from research and from demonstration programs, it is time to reflect on the shape of Head Start in the future. Head Start experimental and pilot projects offer pioneering models which can be used by our local programs to meet the individual needs of families more effectively.

These experimental programs have included parent and child centers (PCC) for children from infancy to age 3, home-based programs that bring child development services to families through home visitors, and the child and family resource program, which enrolls the entire family.

Another important project, the program of developmental continuity, is linking Head Start programs to public schools, to insure continuity in education and social services for children through the third grade. The basic education skills project is focusing on the effect of the following program elements of the education component: Curriculum, parent involvement, teacher attitudes and behaviors, and continuity of children's learning of basic educational skills; and the child and family mental health program is addressing an unmet need—early attention to measures to prevent emotional and behavior problems in children.

The common elements of these programs are:

A central emphasis on strengthening the family, beginning intervention early—often during the prenatal period;

An expansion of social services; and

A focus on linking Head Start to other agencies—public schools, health clinics, community mental health centers, and social service agencies.

Head Start has shown a consistent record of changing with the times in order to produce greater gains from the Nation's investment in the future of its children. Today's programs are incon.parably more effective than the 6- to 8-week summer Head Start programs funded in 1965. Based on the clear evidence we now have on the impact of program efforts in the past 15 years, Tomorrow's Head Start program will have an even greater worth to the children and families of America.

STATEMENT OF JOHN A. CALHOUN III, COMMISSIONER, ADMINISTRATION FOR CHILDREN, YOUTH AND FAMILIES, DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE, ACCOMPANIED BY BARBARA KAMARA, ASSOCIATE COMMISSIONER FOR DEVELOPMENTAL SERVICES, ADMINISTRATION FOR CHILDREN, YOUTH AND FAMILIES, AND JAMES L. ROBINSON, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR, HEAD START BUREAU

Mr. CALHOUN. Mr. Chairman, I am delighted to be here. I am also delighted for your support, and your committee's support in the past, for Head Start. It is indeed a Federal program whose success is being vindicated.

I do apologize. I am a rookie at this. I did have a prepared statement.

So, in trying to respond to your gentle request, I will abridge my written comments and speak as directly as possible to the issues here.

Head Start has been highlighted, the success of it, in the last few months, and indeed has proven very clearly that there are lasting effects after preschool, for preschool programs.

The findings demonstrate clearly that early intervention programs do have a lasting effect.

When compared to a control group, the children who had attended Head Start and other preschool programs 10 years ago were, first of all, far less likely to be held back a grade or assigned to special education classes. They also increased achievement in math, improved cognitive and language development, and favorably influenced the achievement orientation of children and mothers.

It should be pointed out that the program in this study were not all typical Head Start programs, although some were Head Start sponsored. I should say, though, that all of them dealt with the poor and most of those that were looked at had even fewer services than Head Start, which means that we expect even greater gains from Head Start itself.

In 1977, George Washington University published a review of Head Start research since 1969 which pulled together the results of over 50 research and evaluation projects, many of which describe the effects of regular Head Start programs.

The effects, indeed, parallel other dramatically.

One, improvement in the children's performance on school achievement tests, including reading, gains in cognitive development, and fewer grade retentions and special class placements.

A positive impact on child socialization and the development of socially mature behavior.

Lower absenteeism from school, fewer cases of anemia, more immunizations, better nutritional practices, and generally better health.

A positive impact on the attitudes of Head Start parents toward their children; favorable changes in interactions between mothers and their children; and an increase in later parent participation in public schools.

I happen to believe, Mr. Chairman, that one of the major impacts of these programs is its effect on parents. I visited a program in Columbus, Ohio. One of the mothers who was a volunteer in the center, looked at me—I was talking to her—and she said, "You know, I didn't know I cared until my child was in Head Start." So I think it is this woman's sense of expectation, in the parental sense of expectation, that is one of the major impacts of the Head Start program.

There was also a handicapped dimension that has proven very successful. The children in Head Start and non-Head Start programs benefited relative to the handicapped children who were not enrolled in any program. During a 1-year period, speech-impaired children showed dramatic gains of more than 6 months in communication age. Children with other handicapping conditions showed improved functioning.

In all instances, Head Start participants gained as much, or more, than handicapped children in other programs. This evaluation underscores the extent to which Head Start is in the forefront of provision of services to the preschool handicapped child in a mainstream setting—a setting in which handicapped and nonhandicapped children can learn from one another and play with nonhandicapped children.

What have we learned from these studies that can help in shaping better programs and policies for children and their families in the future? Certain lessons stand out:

First: We now know that Head Start and other well-designed early intervention programs produce clear and lasting gains that positively affect both the child's and the family's future chances of succeeding.

Second: We know that not all programs produce such benefits, but only those that incorporate key aspects of exemplary practices in preschool education and child development. These factors include the following:

INVOLVEMENT OF PARENTS

The parent is the child's first and best teacher, and the family is the most important influence on the child's development.

QUALITY TEACHERS

After the parents, the child's teacher is the most important factor in program success. We are striving to upgrade teacher quality in Head Start through training programs, such as the competency-based child development associate program—known as CDA—and through seminars on working with handicapped children in mainstreamed classrooms.

COMPREHENSIVE SERVICES

These include education, parent involvement, and social sciences; dental, nutrition, and health services; and mental health services, which in combination, foster the child's overall development in the context of the family. The program must also include needed special

services for handicapped children. These are the three cornerstones of sound programing.

Now, I will skip to my second to last page, and just a note about the future, Mr. Chairman.

Drawing on what we have learned from research and from demonstration programs, it is time to reflect on the shape of Head Start in the future. Head Start experimental and pilot projects offer pioneering models which can be used by our local programs to meet the individual needs of families more effectively.

These experimental programs have included parent and child centers—PCC—for children from infancy to age three; home-based programs that bring child development services to families through home visitors; and the child and family resources program, which enrolls the entire family.

We are discovering a need to do a little more research on this, because the Head Start mother of the eighties is somewhat different from the Head Start mother of the sixties. She is younger. In many cases we have children having children.

So in many cases we have begun—and this is a note for the possible future—to begin negotiations with the Department of Labor for some skill training for these women to complete high school equivalency degrees and things such as that.

Another important project, the program of developmental continuity, is linking Head Start programs to public schools, to insure continuity in education and social services for children through the third grade. The basic education skills project is focusing on the effect of the following program elements of the education component: Curriculum, parent involvement, teacher attitudes and behaviors, and continuing of children's learning of basic educational skills; and the child and family mental health program is addressing an unmet need—early attention to measures to prevent emotional and behavior problems in children.

The common elements of these programs are; a central emphasis on strengthening the family, beginning intervention early—often during the prenatal period; an expansion of social services; and, a focus on linking Head Start to other agencies—public schools, health clinics, continuity of childrens learning of basic educational skills.

Head Start has shown a consistent record of changing with the times in order to produce greater gains from the Nation's investment in the future of its children. Today's programs are incomparably more effective than the 6- to 8-week summer Head Start programs funded in 1965. Based on the clear evidence we now have on the impact of program efforts in the past 15 years, tomorrow's Head Start program will have an even greater worth to the children and families of America.

We have served 7 million children in the 15 years since its inception. It is a demonstrated success. I do not think we want to be in a position of having yesterday's innovation being tomorrow's stagnation so we are fully committed, Mr. Chairman, to working with you and your staff to help design a better and more innovative Head Start program in the future. I also would add that I am extremely grateful for the support you have given us today.

Mr. ANDREWS. Thank you for a very good and succinct statement. Barbara, if you would proceed, we will withhold questions or comments for the three of you until all have spoken.

Ms. KAMARA. We can proceed by having the comments from the two persons who have been directly involved with the research. After you have heard their presentation, I would certainly be glad to elaborate on some of the things that Jack has mentioned. Jim Robinson is here, too, if you have additional questions that you would like to address to him.

Mr. ANDREWS. Very well. We would like to proceed.

Mr. CALHOUN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. ANDREWS. Would Dr. Palmer please come forward?

Dr. Palmer, if you would give, for the record, your full name and something of your credentials.

[The prepared statement of Dr. Francis H. Palmer follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF FRANCIS H. PALMER, PRESIDENT, THE MERRILL-PALMER INSTITUTE OF HUMAN DEVELOPMENT AND FAMILY LIFE

Mr. Chairman, I am informed by Mr. Raley of your staff that I was invited before this committee because I conducted one of those studies which have provided evidence that preschool educational intervention can contribute significantly to subsequent scholastic achievement.

The study for which I was responsible was conducted in Harlem in New York City, and involved initially 320 black male children who were born between August and November of 1964. The experimental groups of the study involved 240 children who were exposed to two 45-minute sessions weekly for 8 months at ages 2 or 3. These children and the control group were assessed annually until they were 5 years of age, and again at ages 9 through 14. The results show clearly that the treatment at ages 2 and 3 made significant differences in reading and arithmetic performance on norm-referenced tests in grades 5 through 8. Results also indicate that the experimental children were only half as likely to have been set back one grade or more by the time they were in, or should have been, in the seventh grade. In the fall of 1978, when data were last collected on the performance of the children, over 80 percent of the children who began in 1966 were still involved, in that at least some data were available. I am particularly proud of the low attrition rate over a 14-year span, and I suggest that it is good evidence that poor families are diligent in their pursuit of experiences they believe beneficial to their children. The study was originally supported by the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development, and by the Administration for Children Youth and Families of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare from 1975 to 1978.

Mr. Chairman, let me remind the committee of the academic and media position about early childhood intervention beginning in 1969 and continuing through 1974 at least. There was then no evidence that early childhood intervention programs in general, and Head Start in particular, were benefiting the children involved. That opinion was echoed first in Arthur Jensen's article in the Harvard Educational Review (1969) and continued until quite recently. The Westinghouse Report, Professor Bronfenbrenner in his report to the National Academy of Sciences, Christopher Jencks in an influential book, and many others picked up the refrain that evidence was lacking for the effects of early intervention. Not surprising, the media at that time echoed the opinions of these influential social scientists. Understandably, there were members of the Congress who asked if the programs had no effects, why spend large sums of money on them? Head Start and other child intervention efforts of the Federal Government were threatened.

I should note here that when Jensen in 1969 denounced the efforts to benefit children through early educational intervention the children in my Harlem study were 5 years old. The data available in 1973, from which Bronfenbrenner had to base his conclusions, came when those children were in the third grade. At that time most of the studies at issue were not funded. We know that third grade reading scores, for example, are highly unreliable even if that data had been available. Consequently, it is the case that those who denied the effects of early intervention did so largely on the basis of data obtained before the children were in school. Furthermore, those data which were examined were almost completely related to change in the IQ. Hard data on achievement was not available at that time.

Alarmed at the threat to Head Start, which he had nurtured in its infancy as the first Director of the Office of Child Development (now Administration for Children, Youth, and Families), Edward Zigler brought together several investigators of early childhood intervention and formed what is now called the Consortium for Longitudinal Studies. That group agreed to pool their data for cross-study analysis, and to continue to collect data on the children in their studies—studies which together asked the question does early intervention benefit the child when he gets to school? The formation of this consortium was unique in the annals of the social sciences. Scientists are normally reluctant to hand over the data from their studies to another party. In this case information was shared because these investigators felt that the political ramifications of the negative treatment of preschool intervention outweighed their traditions of independence, and because they were convinced that it was too soon to discard the possible effects of early intervention.

At that time most of the studies which had the potential for providing data which could answer the question about the effects of early intervention were not funded. The Consortium had two primary problems: where to obtain funding, and to agree on those variables which the studies would emphasize in the follow up data collection. Ultimately, the Administration for Children, Youth, and Families provided funding for the Consortium, and the investigators agreed to keep the follow up oriented toward measures that had face validity such as reading and arithmetic scores and whether or not the child had progressed in school to the level of his age peers. Because Professor Irving Lazar had not conducted any studies of this kind and would presumably have less bias in analysis and interpretation of results, he was asked to supervise the cross-study analysis. The resulting analysis cross studies provided compelling evidence similar to that described as a result in the Harlem study: early intervention in a variety of programs had made significant differences in subsequent school achievement.

This evidence began to surface in 1978, and it has gained momentum since. If one takes the position that in our culture truth is only acceptable if adopted by the media, then that acceptance has only occurred in the past 6 months. Indeed, in the past 3 months there have been articles in the New York Times Winter Survey of Education (January 6, 1980); Albert Shankar's column in the New York Times (December 9, 1979); the Philadelphia Inquirer (December 3, 1979); International Herald Tribune (December 1, 1979); New York Times (December 1, 1979); Washington Post (November 30, 1979); New York Times editorial (November 3, 1979); Newsweek (October 5, 1979); and Psychology Today (September 1979). Furthermore, only last week Secretary Harris, in her swearing in of Dr. Calhoun as the new head of the Administration for Children, Youth, and Families, remarked how wonderful it was to have these studies to show that what DHEW had been doing for more than a decade indeed has a demonstrable effect.

Mr. Chairman, today the evidence for the benefits of early preschool educational intervention for subsequent school behavior is compelling, and the media have responded to that data. Given the fact that the Consortium for Longitudinal Studies has achieved its goal, one may ask why some of the members of that Consortium are uneasy? While all members and former members (I resigned from the Consortium over a year ago) are not concerned about all of the following, some are concerned about each of the following: (1) The implication that any preschool treatments would have the same effect as the studies at issue found, (2) the implications that the studies were conducted on Head Start children, (3) that funding continues for data analysis but not for continuing data collection on such hard variables as the effects on school dropouts, trouble with the law, college attendance, and the acquisition of employment, and (4) that interpretations of the data analysis are going beyond the evidence.

The concern about extending the evidence from the Consortium studies to any preschool treatment is based on the fact that it is the quality of a program in content and personnel training which is related to subsequent school performance. It is unlikely that all preschool experience benefit subsequent school behavior. Indeed, some may be harmful to it. The point is that treatments similar to those found to be effective by the Consortium may be expected to be effective, but many may not.

The concern about extending the results of the Consortium to Head Start is based on the fact that only one of the studies involved related to Head Start children. Frankly, Mr. Chairman, I am not concerned about that inferential leap. Most good Head Start programs involve similar treatments to those found

in the Consortium studies. Furthermore, Head Start offers a wider range of supports to the children and families than any of the Consortium studies did. My guess is that we will ultimately find that a well conducted Head Start program with emphasis on educational input, with the attendant social and health services offered by Head Start, will yield better results than even the Consortium studies have. I will return to this point in a moment.

Mr. Chairman, the committee must recognize that for all intents and purposes data collection on the basic studies on which the Consortium was founded has ceased. Of the total allocated by Administration for Children, Youth, and Families to the Consortium in 1978 (over $250,000) the original investigators were allocated less than $100,000 to continue data collection on hard variables such as school dropouts, trouble with the law, and college attendance. Two studies which comprise 50 percent of the total number of children in the cross-study sample, were allocated only $10,000 each to keep the studies alive. That was the occasion for my resigning from the Consortium. A letter to the then Director of Administration for Children, Youth, and Families on that subject is appended to this testimony.

Some members of the Consortium feel that present data analyses are dealing with secondary variables which are not justified by the design and results of the individual studies, and that other results are claimed which are at best tenuous. That makes some of us hurt in our scientific bones. Having said this, however, let me make it clear that none questions the validity of the main effects on subsequent school performance.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, let me make some remarks about Head Start within the context of what we know about early intervention. My credentials for doing that are that I wear two hats. I conducted one of the studies of early intervention on which you rely, and presently I am the President of the Merrill Palmer Institute in Detroit—which serves as a Delegate Agency for Head Start at what might be called the gross roots level. As such I consider myself part of the conceptualization of Head Start at its best, and one who has been responsible for implementing that program in a large American city.

Each of our regional offices of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has a number of Head Start grantees which are directly responsible to the Regional office for the program. Each grantee contracts with delegate agencies to conduct programs. The grantees range in size of contract, so much so that some delegate agencies have the responsible for more children than some grantees. The delegate agency does not have ready access to the regional office, and is vulnerable to the vicissitudes of the political structure within which the grantee operates. In large cities, where the city is the grantee, and supplies the regional office with its information, the delegate agency is vulnerable to the grantee's political needs. That system leaves the possibility of an enormous gap between the goals and intents of Head Start as defined in the Federal Register, and what occurs at a ghetto site. The Federal Register also provides for an appeal to the regional office if disputes occur between grantee and delegate agency. But what if that delegate agency is told by the city that there will be no appeal? What happens in large cities is that obstructions exist which keep Head Start from being what Congress has appropriated the money for.

Head Start is the single most significant effort our country has for children and families. Its conceptualization and the legislation behind it are one of the most important and beneficial acts for children and families this nation has ever conceived. The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare personnel responsible for it are of the highest caliber. It is a framework which we can anticipate will become more able to provide services with increasing efficiency so long as we are allowed to use what we know about children and families. There are problems in the system which keep us from using what we know at this time. We must find solutions to these problems.

THE MERRILL-PALMER INSTITUTE,
OFFICE OF PRESIDENT,
Detroit, Mich., January 10, 1980.

Dr. BLANDINA CARDENAS,
Administration for Children, Youth and Families,
Washington, D.C. 20013

DEAR DR. CARDENAS: On October 24, 1978 the Consortium for Longitudinal Studies met in Washington and established new rules of governance to include an

Executive Committee of four to represent the Consortium in subsequent negotiations. It was informed at that time of the amount of ACYF money available to the Consortium and recommended a budget which the constituent members felt would best accomplish what ACYF and the research required. Following that meeting, the Executive Committee met with you, Sol Rosoff, and Edie Grotberg, to brief your office on the results of that meeting. Memoranda for the record show that the issues covered were quite specific that no single individual related to the Consortium was empowered to act for the Consortium without Executive Committee approval.

Given that meeting and the budget proposed by the Consortium, members of the Consortium gauged their spending on the last information they had. It was recognized at that time that each Consortium constituency was subject to ongoing costs, and that some urgency existed to get a contract signed so that the several efforts could continue efficiently.

Two months later, just before Christmas, information came from Irving Lazar's office suggesting that further cuts were going to occur. No reason was given, and no communication existed with the Executive Committee as to how needed cuts would best be accomplished.

Last week contracts were mailed by the Education Commission of the States to the investigators which included as much as 50 percent cuts in some studies. No rationale for these selective cuts has been given. David Weikart, Susan Gray, nor I were consulted by anyone about how cuts could best be made without jeopardizing the long-range goal. Irv Lazar states that he knew nothing of how the cuts were made or by whom. Jim Peterson states that neither he or others at ECS were involved.

In 25 years of dealing with Federal agencies this is the first time that a grant in which I have been involved has been arbitrarily cut by an agency without consultation with the principal investigator(s). Since no rationale has been given any of the investigators for the specifics of the cut, the Executive Committee of the Consortium is in no position to question the rationale. All we know is that the budget is not consistent with our last recommendations, and that the cuts were not proportionate to that recommendation. Whoever initiated that action or condoned it clearly did so with the understanding that only the Executive Committee of the Consortium could approve such action.

I will not attempt to speak for other members of the Consortium, but I do think you should be informed of the effects of the cut from $19,967 to $10,000 means to the Harlem study.

(a) Expenditures from October 1 to January 1 were roughly at the rate anticipated from our discussions of October 24. Thus, a significant amount of the $10,000 has been spent, leaving less than $6,000 for the period January 1 to August 31.

(b) Given the above, two persons with 26 years of combined experience with the children and families in the sample have been placed on half pay to June, and informed that they must find other employment then. One of those two was caught in the last year of his doctoral training. This means, of course, that the only persons who are familiar with almost 25 percent of the entire sample represented in its October, 1978 report will be unavailable for subsequent participation in that study. (ref: Table 2, p. 27, of that report).

(c) The Harlem study with the 250 subjects is receiving one half as much as another study who had found so few of their subjects that the data could not be included in the 1978 report.

(d) This action jeopardized the integrity of the Harlem sample to the point that the collection of subsequent data on 25 percent of the Consortium's usable sample for variables such as school dropouts, jobs, jail, college attendance, etc., will cost twice as much in the future, if it can be done at all.

Bambi, I believe that the Executive Committee of the Consortium deserves an answer to what the rationale for the changes were and who made them arbitrarily.

Lazar and Peterson deny being a party to the action. If the action was taken unilaterally in your agency or in conjunction with Peterson, that is without precedent in grant negotiation. If a member of the Consortium did act with your people and did not communicate with the Executive Committee that is a very serious problem for the Consortium.

Sincerely yours,

FRANCIS M. PALMER.

STATEMENT OF DR. FRANCIS H. PALMER, PRESIDENT, MERRILL-PALMER INSTITUTE, DETROIT, MICH.

Mr. PALMER. Yes, Mr. Chairman.

My name is Francis H. Palmer. I am presently the president of the Merrill-Palmer Institute in Detroit which is a research and training institution for preschool children. There is no relationship between my name and that of the institution. It has been there for 60 years and I am not that Palmer.

Mr. Chairman, I appreciate this opportunity. It is not always the case that the principal investigators of research get heard before a distinguished committee of this kind. It is more frequently the case that the research becomes a footnote someplace and the results are communicated to the media and other places by third parties.

The study which I did in Harlem was begun in 1964, with 320 black, male, children who were about half middle class and half lower class. Mine is the only study in the consortium of longitudinal studies which tap what I, at least, defined as middle class.

Middle class, in this case, is defined as anybody who had a job, and such, as opposed to a group who had no jobs and were AFDC and so forth. Middle class does not mean people making the salaries that most of us do.

The treatment in this case was a very simple one. A few hours a week for 8 months, the children were brought in and dealt with on a 1-to-1 basis where we provided them very simple concepts at age 2 and 3, such as those that are appropriate at age 2 and 3—I mean such things as up and down and biggest and littlest and forward and next to and so forth.

This 1-to-1 situation in which this was done in Harlem and working with the child, both the experimental groups and the control groups were assessed annually thereafter through age 5 and again beginning annually at age 9. The children are presently aged 15.

So we have been following them for 13 years. We have 245 of the original 320 still in the sample. In fact, I might add, sir, that it makes me proud but more than that, I think it communicates the diligence with which poor parents will stick with something if they believe it will benefit their child.

I think this is a very important point.

In my testimony, I review the history somewhat of these studies. I think so far I have been considered more or less the official historian for the studies for the last 4 or 5 years.

We have had hard times. There was a time, running from 1969 to 1964, when the authoritative voices in academia were almost unanimous in concluding that early childhood intervention had no effect on subsequent school performance.

I am referring to such people as Arthur Jensen in his 1969 Harvard Educational Review; Professor Bronfenbrenner in his report to the National Academy of Sciences; and many more.

It was almost unanimous among those authoritarian voices at one time that early intervention in terms of dealing with a child had not been shown to be effective.

Not surprisingly, there were Members of the Congress who raised the question if there is no evidence to show that these inputs, these

treatments have been effective, why are we spending so much time on them? And indeed, during that period, Head Start, as you well know, sir, was under considerable threat.

Thanks largely to Prof. Edward Zigler, the first Director of the Office of Child Development and too, a group of investigators whom Professor Zigler brought together, a consortium was formed which was not called the consortium on longitudinal studies. Social scientists are not very quick to give their data up to another party but in this case, this group of investigators agreed that the political ramifications of what was the Zeigeist at the time was so important that we would pool our data across five or six studies and the results of the studies which you are getting now and which are being mirrored in the media are, in fact, a result of the pooling of studies to include Dr. Weikart's and mine from about five or six studies which provide us a large enough sample, and the kind of jargon that we use is a kind of cross-study analysis, so that the results you have been informed of have come about.

If it is true that truth in this culture is only defined when the media adopts it, then it is the fact that in the last 6 months at least 10 major editorials in such places as the New York Times, the International Herald Tribune and so on, have accepted the data as truth.

There is no question, Mr. Chairman, that the effects that were conducted, the treatments in those studies, the evidence is compelling that a decade later those children are doing far better in school than their peers in the control group.

In the Harlem study, my study, they are only half as likely to fail in school by grade 7 as the control group. I might add that the control group in school district 5 in Harlem, the failure rate for all children, it turns out comfortably for me, is the same failure rate as our control group.

It is also the case in some studies, but not all, in some studies, arithmetic and reading achievement as measured by norm reference test, the experimental children are 1 year ahead of their controls.

So I think that there is no question but what these studies show that preschool interventions of the wide variety of kinds which were used in these five to six studies make a durable effect on the scholastic performance of the children.

The investigators in the consortium, having achieved the first stage of their goals—that is, to find out whether these data indeed did support that conclusion—have had a little problem at the next stage. There are some concerns among these investigators, and for various reasons the consortium as such has become a little unravelled.

I resigned from it over a year ago and I will only let the other members speak for themselves. Some of the concerns about what is going on in that analysis I would like to list very quickly. They are not shared by all the members. Some member is concerned about each of the following.

First: There is an implication in some of the reporting of the consortium that preschool training of any kind will result in these effects or differences. There is no data to show that. In fact, I rather suspect that some preschool training may indeed harm the child with respect to subsequent performance.

Second: Only one of the studies which were used in the analysis included Head Start children. All of the other children were poor chil-

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dren of the same kind that Head Start deals with but those studies were not Head Start studies. There are persons who are concerned about the inference from these control studies to Head Start.

I am not concerned about that inference, Mr. Chairman, and let me tell you why. As has been pointed out by Dr. Calhoun, these studies were treatments dealing with the child and to some degree or other, services were involved and the parents and children were involved but in no case were the studies to which I refer blessed with the kind of services, health nutrition and so forth, that you provide with your Head Start program.

Consequently, it is my guess if we ever get good evaluations of Head Start, which I think is both methodologically and pragmatically difficult to do, I think we will be able to demonstrate to you that Head Start, indeed, does better than the results that my study and others have shown.

There is another problem. I guess we all are concerned about this. There have been periods in the continuity of these studies over the last 15 years when all of them have lacked any funding. The Harlem study was not funded for 5 years between age 5 and age 9.

Subsequently it was funded for 3 years and it has not been funded for 2 years now.

Each time we go back to refind those children and each time we have to regear, it is enormously expensive than to keep track of those children continuously. In the case of the Harlem study—and I might add that the ages of the children vary somewhat in these different studies—in the case of the Harlem study which, with Dr. Weikart's study, comprises 50 percent of the total sample of all studies, we have not been funded for 2 years. The study has closed down and there is no way at the present time that we can test hypotheses related to whether or not the school dropout rate differs, who gets in trouble with the law, who goes to college, and who gets jobs.

I think that a prime priority should be to maintain at least some of these studies for that purpose. At the present time, most of the effort is going into a reanalysis of existing data and no new data is being collected on those children in a systematic way.

Now, briefly in closing, let me mention another problem with Head Start. What I have stated are certainly not problems with Head Start. They are not related to Head Start, but rather to the studies to which you are presently referring.

With respect to Head Start itself, fortunate or unfortunate as it happens to be—and I have done some of the studies referred to and at the same time wear another hat where I am the president of an institution which is a delegate agency in Head Start. You have an interesting and cumbersome way of monitoring delegate agencies.

The regional offices deal with grantees. The grantees, in turn, contract with delegate agencies and the grantees can be smaller in child size than the delegate agency.

The communication from the delegate agency up is very difficult in most large cities. When the political structures of large, urban cities get involved as they do where Head Start grantees are the city itself, enormous problems occur which influences what happens to the children and families in the study.

The kinds of things we are talking about and Dr. Weikart will be talking about, the kinds of treatments that we have shown to work,

can indeed occur in Head Start and do in many Head Start places now, but there are obstacles that your separate staff in Washington has, and that is in communication down to the delegate agency and the role that the grantee plays, or the city, in obstructing those communications.

In closing, Mr. Chairman, let me say that I think that Head Start is the single most significant concept upon which this Nation has brought legislation to bear which benefits children and families. It is the most meticulously worked out in terms of the guidelines and so forth of any Federal program I have ever seen.

We have to continue to work, all of us, to make that program so that the benefits described in our treatment can indeed get to those children because presently in many cases that is not occurring.

Thank you very much. I appreciate the opportunity to be before the committee.

Mr. ANDREWS. Thank you, Dr. Palmer. We will very much look forward to questioning you later.

All right. Our next witness please.

Dr. Weikart?

[Prepared statement of Dr. David Weikart follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF DAVID P. WEIKART AND LARRY SCHWEINHART HIGH/SCOPE EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH FOUNDATION, YPSILANTI, MICH.[1]

Mr. Chairman, it is a pleasure to be here today to discuss the impact of early childhood education upon the longterm performance of children who have participated in quality programs. While major national programs have existed for 15 years, only now are data supporting their contribution to children gradually becoming available. While many issues have yet to be resolved to deliver needed programs to each child who can benefit from such experience, the basic outline is now known as well as the manner of their positive impact on children. Perhaps most exciting, however, is that the information indicates quality early education programming can significantly reduce the later costs of education that society must bear for each child. Indeed, there are initial data to suggest that the entire cost of early education is recovered.

This testimony is designed to explore these issues and outline the major evidence supporting such a position. The final section of this written material looks at a recommendation these data suggest.

INTRODUCTION

Early childhood education has had an exciting though brief modern history. Based on a few adventurous programs established in the early 1960's, the social pressures for general reform in society and especially in education produced one of the most enduring Great Society programs in the summer of 1965, National Head Start. This eight-week effort was to accelerate disadvantaged children and allow them to enter school intellectually and academically equal with middle class advantaged peers. The fate of these expectations is well known. The Westinghouse-Ohio University study of longitudinal Head Start findings recorded the failure of any long term intellectual or academic impact from Head Start participation. These findings all but eliminated Head Start as a means of educational programming for disadvantaged children from a political point of view. The program itself was saved only by directly lobbying Congress, a feat accomplished by parents of Head Start children who had learned their skills in the local city Community Action Projects battles and by Ed Zigler's efforts as Director of the Office of Child Development (now the Administration of Children, Youth and Families). The program's rationale was converted to support the deliveries of social and health services. As such, Head Start limped along with level funding

[1] The research reported herein was supported in part by the U.S. Office of Education (1964–67), the Spencer Foundation (1971–74), the Carnegie Corporation of New York (1975–80), the U.S. Administration for Children, Youth and Families (1976–80), and the U.S. Office of Education, Bureau of Education for the Handicapped (1979–80).

for almost a decade, written off by news media as well as politicians, carefully nursed by dedicated staff at the regional and national levels, traditional entry education professionals who really care about their responsibilities, and by the parents who could see within their own families the benefits and values that Head Start provided their own children.

While these changes occurred in Head Start, a quiet revolution was underway regarding the effectiveness of early education programs. Information on the values and impact of preschool has been accumulating from a range of studies initiated in the 1960's and only now becoming available to the general public and public makers.

This testimony now looks at the studies conducted by the High/Scope Foundation, studies that are, perhaps, the most complete and extensive of those supporting early childhood education.

The Ypsilanti Perry Preschool Project was initiated by Weikart and his associates in 1962 to determine how preschool education could benefit disadvantaged children. To address this question, two groups of children, in essence randomly assigned, were accumulated between 1962 and 1967: an experimental group of 58 children who attended the Perry Preschool and a control group of 65 children who had no preschool—a total of 123 children in the longitudinal sample. (Five children from the original sample of 128 were not in the longitudinal sample. In the original experimental group, three children moved before completing preschool. In the original control group, one child moved and one child died.)

The Perry Preschool study was an attempt to intervene into part of the cycle of poverty—the ongoing progression of undesirable social and educational conditions, such as low socioeconomic status, school failure and early dropout, and juvenile delinquency. Some of these outcomes could be and were assessed during or shortly after the preschool experience. Other outcomes, of greater consequence, could only be assessed after the passage of time, as project participants passed through adolescence into adulthood. Thus the evaluation has become a longitudinal study, with data collected at regular intervals throughout the 19 years since it begin. Currently a comprehensive assessment of project participants at age 19 is in progress.

SAMPLING AND GROUP ASSIGNMENT

The study took place in Ypsilanti, Mich., a city of about 30,000 located 30 miles west of Detroit. Children came from families in the attendance area of the Perry Elementary School, at the time an exclusively black section of town. This neighborhood was selected because the school had a history of low academic achievement.

Children entered the study in five successive waves, with about 25 children per wave equally divided into a group who attended preschool and a group who did not. Age of child at project entry was a selection criterion. In the first year of the project, a wave of 4-year-olds entered the project as well as a wave of 3-year-olds. In each of the following years, a new group of 3-year-olds entered the project to replace the graduating group of 4-year-olds. Thus one wave entered the project at age 4 and remained for 1 year, and four waves entered the project at age 3 and remained for 2 years. This procedure permitted the investigators to provide preschool education to 58 children over 5 years, with the class of 3- and 4-year-olds never exceeding 25 children.

Two measures were used as criteria for sample selection: family socioeconomic status and the child's score on the Stanford-Binet Intelligence Scale. Each September the names of all families with children of the appropriate age were drawn from the Perry school census. The socioeconomic status of these families was determined by a formula based upon parent report of parents educational attainment, occupation of head of household, and household density of rooms per person. If the family's SES score was below a specified level, the child was given the Stanford-Binet Intelligence Scale. Children with low IQ's on this test, but with no evidence of organic impairment, became a part of the study sample. To qualify for the project, children's IQ's were 85 or lower. Eleven percent of the sample had IQ's below 70. This borderline area between 70 and 85 was at that time included in the official definition of mental retardation: today it is not.

Each year, children were assigned randomly to either the experimental group or the control group on the basis of pretest IQ, with adjustments to equate the

groups on sex ratio and average socioeconomic status, a sort of matching procedure with adjustments. The actual step-by-step procedures were as follows. Children were ranked by their IQ's, then sorted into two groups. Children with similar scores were exchanged to equate the groups on sex ratio and average SES score. After one group was assigned to preschool—and the other to no preschool—any siblings were assigned to the same group as their older siblings in the project, so as to maintain the independence of the two groups. Also, five extra children were transferred from the experimental group to the control group as they were unable to attend preschool due to lack of transportation or a working mother.

GROUP CHARACTERISTICS

The principal background characteristics of the two groups of children are shown in table 1. The two groups did not differ significantly on pretest IQ, SES, family size, birth order, welfare status, sex ratio, father's absence, or father's employment. The only statistically significant difference ($p. < .05$) between the groups is that there were more working mothers of children who did not attend preschool, a difference which is attributable to the transfer of a few extra children with working mothers to the control group.

THE PRESCHOOL PROGRAM

The program of preschool education for the experimental group had two major components: daily attendance by children in a preschool classroom and weekly home visits by a teacher. Children remained in the program for 2 years (1 year for the first wave) from October to May. The classroom program ran 2½ hours a day, 5 days a week, with the staff-child ratio consistently at 1 to 6. Weekly home visits to mother and child lasted about 1½ hours.

Throughout its operation, the preschool program emphasized individualized support of a child's cognitive development by the teaching staff. At the same time, the Perry project was also a curriculum development project; the curriculum evolved over the years, as the staff sifted its experience for better strategies and as the focus upon cognitive-developmental theory became firmer and more articulate. The curriculum at the end of the preschool operation is described in the book "The Cognitively Oriented Curriculum" by Weikart, Rogers, Adcock, and McClelland (1971).[2] In the research design presented here, curriculum evolution is regarded simply as unassigned variation in the preschool curriculum.

ASSESSMENTS

Three tests are focused upon here: The Stanford-Binet Intelligence Scale (1960 form L–M 1960 norms), the Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children or WISC (1949 edition), and the California Achievement Test or CAT (lower primary and upper primary levels, 1957 edition; level 4, 1970 edition). The Binet was given as a pretest in the fall before each wave of children entered the project and at the end of each school year from the end of the first year of preschool through fourth grade. The WISC was given at the end of the eighth grade. (The change from the Binet was made because the WISC was judged to be more suitable for older children and provides subtest scores as well as a total score.) The CAT was given at the end of each school year from first grade through fifth grade and at the end of eighth grade.

Subject loss was slight for all of these tests. An average of 96 percent of the sample received the annual 10 tests. An average of 82 percent of the sample received the annual achievement tests. On the important eighth grade testing, 95 of the 123 children in the sample, 77 percent, took the CAT. Tested subjects were compared to untested subjects on a variety of characteristics, including preschool group membership and those characteristics listed in table 1. No differences between tested and untested subjects were statistically significant.

Other aptitude tests were also administered, the first given as a pretest within three months of preschool entry, subsequent tests given annually from the end of the first year of preschool to the end of third grade. These tests were: the

[2] The curriculum has continued to evolve; see "Young Children in Action—A Manual for Preschool Educators" by Hohmann, Banet, and Weikart (1979).

Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test (PPVT; Dunn, 1959); the Arthur Adaptation of the Leiter International Performance Scale, a nonverbal IQ test (Arthur, 1952); and the Illinois Test of Psycholinguistic Abilities or ITPA (experimental edition; McCarthy and Kirk, 1961).

TABLE 1.—GROUP CHARACTERISTICS

Measure	Children who had preschool	Children who had no preschool
Number in group	58	65
Stanford-binet pretest	79.6	78.5
Socioeconomic status	8.4	8.3
Children in family	4.9	4.9
Other siblings (birth order)	2.8	3.0
Father's education	9.4	8.8
Mother's education	9.5	9.4
Family on welfare (percent)	57	45
Girls/boys (percent)	43–57	40–60
Father absent/present (percent)	46–54	49–51
Father employed (percent)	46	45
Mother employed (percent)	9	[1]31

[1] Difference significant with a probability of less than 0.05.

Children's social behavior was assessed in school by two rating scales completed annually by elementary school teachers from the end of kindergarten through the end of third grade: the Pupil Behavior Inventory and the Ypsilanti Rating Scale. The two scales comprise nine factors having to do with academic orientation and classroom behavior. Sample retention on these rating scales averaged 82 percent.

Another rating scale, collected within three months of project entry, was the Maternal Attitude Inventory or MAI, adapted from the work of Schaefer and Bell (1958) which measures mothers' attitudes toward childrearing in general. The Cognitive Home Environment Scale or CHES (Wolf, 1964) was collected form parents of children in all waves in the spring of 1966; the CHES measures the parent's educational practices and the home as an environment for learning.

Although not extensively reported here, at age 15 subjects and their parents responded to comprehensive structured interviews; these interviews are currently being analyzed. We have also begun to collect an even more comprehensive assessment of subjects at age 19.

These data have been collected by trained, qualified personnel distributed as much as possible across experimental and control children, across sexes, and across waves, to minimize the effects of their possible biases. At testings after preschool, testers were not informed as to whether the children they tested had or had not attended preschool.

STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

The principal statistical analysis of outcomes presented here is multiple linear regression analysis. This technique was used to equalize the effects of ten covariates on the scores of the outcome variables and then analyze the effects of preschool group membership as the last variable entered. The values reported in figures 1 and 2 and in table 2 are all adjusted for the effects of these covariates. Despite the initial similarities between the experimental group and the control group, slight differences did exist. Multiple regression analysis in effect removes the cumulative impact of these slight differences—greatly increasing the power and sensitivity of the analysis. In other words, the analysis virtually eliminates the possibility that group differences are attributable to anything other than preschool.[2]

[2] It has been brought to our attention that multiple regression analysis under certain conditions can create or enlarge differences not present in the raw data before statistical adjustment. In fact, the opposite was the case for the more pronounced group differences reported here. The magnitude of preschool IQ and eighth grade achievement differences was reduced by the statistical adjustment.

The 10 covariates used were the same as the covariates used in the lengthier analyses of the fourth grade Perry report (Weikart, Bond, & McNeil, 1978) with one addition; maternal employment was added because it was the only initial characteristic for which the group difference was statistically significant. Because of this addition, the results presented here will differ slightly from the results presented in the fourth grade Perry report.

Figure 1
IQ Over Time*

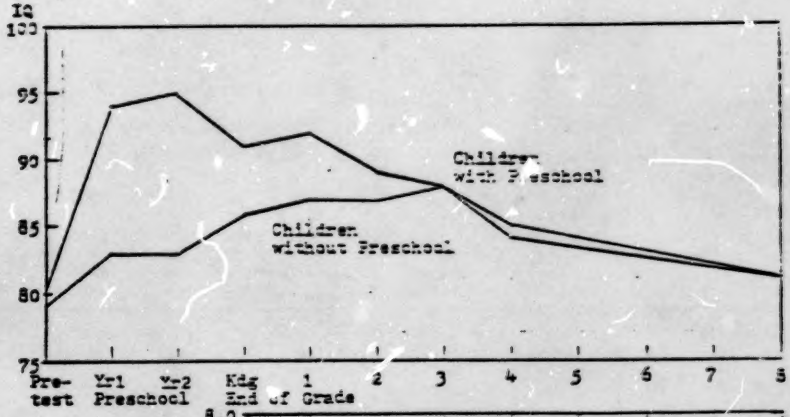
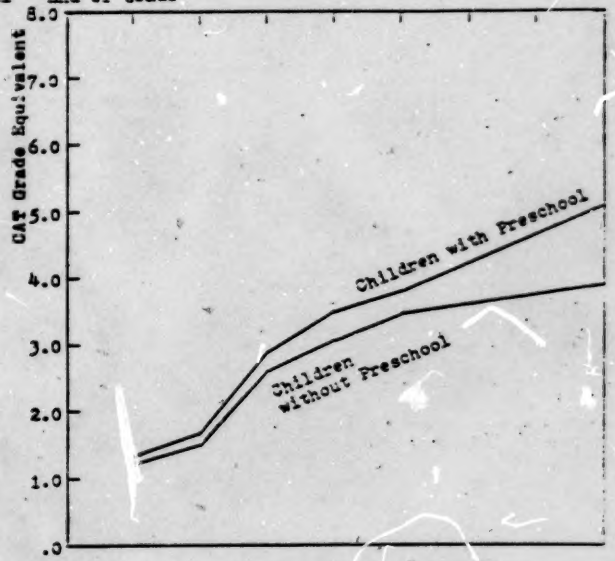


Figure 2
Academic Achievement Over Time*



*Means adjusted for effects of 10 covariates (see text).

TABLE 2.—MAGNITUDE OF EFFECTS OF PRESCHOOL EDUCATION ON IQ AND SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT

Time	IQ		School achievement	
	Percent of variance [1]	Level of significance [2]	Percent of variance	Level of significance
Preschool:				
Year 1	19	<0.001		
Year 2	20	<.001		
Kindergarten	4	.009		
Grade:				
1	4	.016	1	0.083
2	0		3	.038
3	0		3	.029
4	0		5	.015
5			4	.022
8	0		9	.004

[1] Increase in the squared multiple correlation due to preschool over and above the effects of the 10 covariates described in the text. All effects are in the direction favoring children who attended preschool.
[2] Probability, with a directional hypothesis, that the reported percent of variance is attributable to chance.

In addition to maternal employment, three other covariates were employed which were collected prior to project entry: Binet pretest scores, family SES, and mothers' education. The remaining six covariates were derived from data gathered after project entry: the initial PPVT, Leiter, ITPA, and MAI; and the two factors derived from the CHES, "home as learning environment" and "parent as teacher." The effect of the preschool experience was statistically removed from these variables, and the residual scores were used for the analysis—since the scores were supposed to represent the variables as they would have been without preschool. While this procedure is not as valid as actually obtaining the data prior to the preschool experience, these variables were judged sufficiently important in their contribution to the sensitivity of the analysis that even estimation of their initial values was preferred to their exclusion.

All analyses of achievement test scores and subscores were carried out with raw scores.

RESULTS THROUGH EIGHTH GRADE

Results are presented in the following order: Academic aptitude and achievement over time, classroom behavior and grade placement, and economic costs and benefits to date.

Academic aptitude and achievement over time

Figure 1 presents the pattern of IQ differences over time between children in a successful preschool and children without preschool, made familiar by numerous studies (see Consortium, 1977). Before preschool, the groups were virtually identical in IQ. Children who attended preschool experienced a gain in IQ of 15 points while they were in preschool, almost all of it during the first year. Meanwhile, the children who did not attend preschool had an IQ rise of 4 points, which probably represents the extent of the artifact of statistical regression to the population mean for these groups. Hence there was a group difference of 12 points at the end of preschool. A year after preschool, the difference had decreased to 5 points, partly because of an IQ decrease among preschool children and partly because of an IQ increase by children without preschool as they completed kindergarten. This difference remained through first grade, during which time both groups rose slightly in IQ. By the end of third grade, there was no longer a difference between groups and no difference of consequence appeared thereafter.

The California Achievement Test results presented in figure 2 were in striking contrast, were in fact a reversal, of the IQ results presented in figure 1. The group difference favoring preschool, instead of becoming smaller during the school years, became increasingly greater. By eighth grade the group difference reached a grade equivalent of more than 1 year. At eighth grade for the first time, children with preschool had significantly higher scores ($p < .05$) on all three of the major divisions of the CAT: reading, language and arithmetic. It appears that the children who attended preschool made greater use of their academic potential than those who did not attend preschool.

The magnitude of preschool effects on IQ and achievement over time are presented in table 2. This table is arranged to suggest that these results fit into

three sets: preschool IQ, school IQ, and school achievement. Preschool experience had a concentrated immediate effect on IQ during preschool, almost no effect on IQ during the school years, and a cumulative effect on school achievement. The latter may have been smaller than the effect on preschool IQ at a given testing, but it is of greater consequence because it not only persisted, it increased in magnitude.

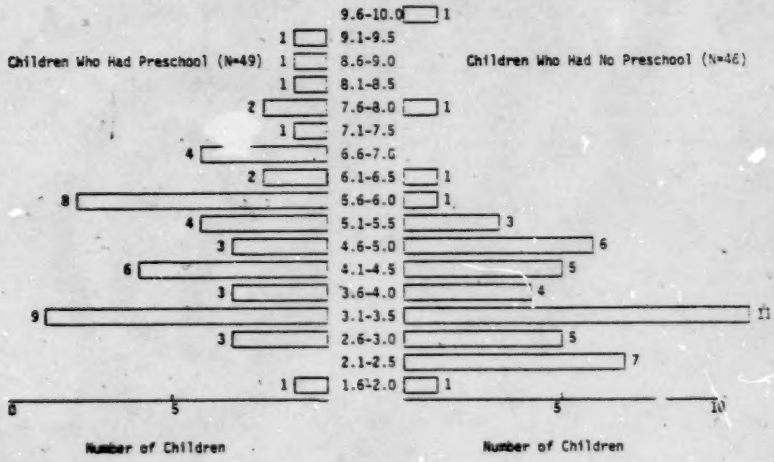
The magnitude of the eighth grade achievement test difference is depicted graphically in figure 3 by the distribution of individual CAT grade equivalents at eighth grade (actual scores unadjusted by covariates). Almost one-half of the children with preschool experience scored higher than did children without preschool. In fact 49 percent of the children who had attended preschool achieved at fifth-grade level or above, while only 17 percent of children who had not attended preschool did that well.

Classroom behavior and grade placement

The classroom behavior of children who attended preschool was consistently rated more highly by teachers in kindergarten, first grade, second grade, and third grade. Differences were slight, but they persisted over the 4 years of assessment. To strengthen the stability and validity of teacher ratings, each of the nine factors was averaged across at least three points of data collection. The factor "independence from teacher" from the Pupil Behavior Inventory was not significantly different across groups. The group who attended preschool was rated significantly better on the remaining eight factors (N=105 for Ypsilanti Rating Scale (YRS), N=95 for Pupil Behavior Inventory (PBI)):

Figure 3

Distributions of CAT Grade Equivalents at Grade 8



Factor:	*P*
Academic motivation (PBI)	0.04
Academic potential (YRS)	.06
Verbal skill (YRS)	.06
Social development (YRS)	.03
Emotional adjustment (YRS)	.06
Classroom conduct (PBI)	.03
Socio-emotional status (PBI)	.08
Personal behavior (PBI)	.04

Parenthetically, it was also found that the summed scores on academic motivation and academic potential were excellent predictors of eighth grade achievement, with correlations of 0.697 and 0.711 respectively. These correlations exceed the correlation between concurrent IQ and achievement at eighth grade (0.605) and rival the correlation between fifth grade achievement and eighth grade achievement (0.702).

Children who attended preschool were found to be more successful in school as measured by the school's own criteria of success. Children's grade placement at fourth grade was determined to be either regular placement on grade in regular classrooms or special placement through repetition of one or more grades or through placement in a special education program.

By grade 4, 38 percent of children without preschool received special placement, while this was the case for only 17 percent of children with preschool, a significant difference ($p<.05$). Preschool experience cut the rate of special placement in half. A possible explanation for this finding is that children who attended preschool functioned more effectively in school and were seen to do so by their teachers. Summed teacher ratings and IQs over time were associated with 64.5 percent of the variance in grade placement.

Economic costs and benefits to date

An economic cost-benefit analysis of the Perry Preschool Project was carried out with data collected in 1973 (Weber, Foster, and Weikart, 1978). The findings for 2 years of preschool, based on a sample size of 95, are presented here. Dollar values were originally calculated in 1958 constant dollars; these values are translated here to 1979 dollars by multiplying by 2.4, the rate of inflation in the intervening period. Findings are presented in table 3.

The cost of 2 years of preschool for one child in 1979 dollars is $5,722 ($2,861 per year). Three types of benefits were included in the analyses:

(1) Savings from lowered cost for education; $3206 per child was saved because fewer children who attended preschool required special education or institutionalized care.

(2) Benefits from increase in projected earnings—$10,325 per child: lifetime earnings were projected for each child on the basis of projected educational level, age, race, and sex. These descriptors were converted to projected lifetime earnings determined from survey data, particularly the 1970 census (Occupational characteristics, 1973).

(3) Value of mother's time released when the child attended preschool—$638 per child; based on an average wage rate for the homemaker in 1979 dollars of $3.38 (Hill and Stafford, 1974).

The total economic benefits calculated by these methods were $14,170 per child against the cost of $5,722 per child. The benefits amount to a 248-percent return on the original investment.

Table 3—Economic cost and benefits of 2 years of preschool education

[In 1979 dollars]

	Per child
Cost of 2 years of preschool education	$5,722
Savings from lowered cost for education	3,206
Benefits from increase in projected earnings	10,325
Value of the mother's time released when the child attended preschool	638
Benefits	14,170
Net social benefits per child	8,448
Benefits as a percentage of cost	248

THE ADOLESCENT ASSESSMENTS

We are now seeking a more complete picture of the life patterns of these individuals. We are currently in the process of analyzing a comprehensive assessment of young people in the Perry Project sample at age 15; and we have begun to collect data in an even more comprehensive assessment of them at age 19. We are using a youth interview that includes reports of status, attitudes toward status, and abilities to cope in six areas of life: family, school, jobs, money management, friends and community, and self. We are seeking status reports from chronological school records, employers, juvenile courts and others.

We are seeking performance ratings from parents, teachers, school counselors, and employers. Some preliminary data are available.

Age 15 interviews

The young persons who had attended the Perry Preschool Project were doing substantially better in school and the community a decade later at age 15. The general statement is based upon findings of significantly better experimental group school achievement, attitude toward school, high school and college aspirations, a lower juvenile delinquency rate, better employment status, and better family relations. All group differences discussed have a statistical significance of less than 0.05.

The general school motivation and aspiration for education was higher in the group who participated in preschool than in the group who did not. On a seven item school motivation scale, 21 percent of the control group report low school motivation while 14 percent of the experimental group adolescents indicate the same feelings about school. Included in this scale was an item on high school completion: "All people should have at least a high school education." While 17 percent of the control group disagree with this statement, only 2 percent of the experimental group do so.

These opinions about high school were further reflected in attitudes toward college. To the question, "Have you ever thought of going to college?" of the control group 40 percent replied "no" compared to 23 percent of the experimental group.

These aspirations for completion of high school and participation in college by the experimental group are backed up by their own perceptions of themselves and by parents' perceptions of their child's performance. While control and experimental group youth do not see any difference between themselves and their classmates on general reading abilities or general intelligence, 41 percent of the control group youth see themselves as having less school ability than their classmates compared to 15 percent of the experimental group children with the same impression. Of the control group youth, 79 percent also report that their parents talk with teachers about their school work and that 27 percent are kept after school "sometimes or often." Of the experimental group youth 52 percent report such school contacts by their parents and 14 percent report staying after school "sometimes or often."

The parents of these youth have some notions of the school capacity and general social ability of their children. To the questions, "How much schooling would you hope your child would get?" 60 percent of the control group's parents hope that their child would attend college contrasted with 77 percent of the experimental group's parents. More realistically, to the question, "Has your child done as well in school as you would have liked?" the control group parents replied "yes" in 28 percent of the cases while the experimental group parents replied "yes" 51 percent of the time. Finally, to the question, "How far do you think that your child will actually go in school?" 33 percent of the control group parents thought "some" college would be possible while 44 percent of the experimental group parents anticipated college for their children.

As an indication of adjustment to the community, 16 percent of the control group youth report working or that they had worked within the last two months when interviewed. Fully 29 percent of the experimental group youth, however, are currently working or had worked during the same period of time.

Given these general attitudes and performance, it is not surprising to find that there is a significant difference between the two groups favoring the experimental group on self-reported delinquent behavior. For example, "taking things by force" found 15 percent of the control group reporting such behavior compares to only 2 percent of the experimental group. The same findings, 15 percent and 2 percent, also pertain to reports of "damage to institutional property." Finally, 13 percent of the control group report being caught for "breaking the law," more than once, while only 2 percent of the experimental group report such experience. Taking 16 such items as an indication of general delinquency and also constructing a scale of serious delinquency on a weighted basis, the control group experienced significantly more delinquency than the experimental group on both scales.

Age 19 followup

Longitudinal follow-up of a sample over a period of more than 15 years is an arduous task blending top notch interviewers and community cooperation, tolerant and sympathetic funding organizations (Spencer Foundation and the Carnegie Corporation) and plain old fashioned luck. Recall the social climate of

the past 15 years and it seems remarkable that 100 percent of the original sample is still available to the study and that 93 percent of all data has been collected over that period of time. The cooperation and acceptance that the project has gained from its participants who are now young adults is a compliment to the dedication of the project staff as well as a testimonial of how young people of a community are willing to participate in something they accept as potentially useful to the next generation of young children.

The specific group to be discussed here is Wave O, a group who entered the Perry Projects as 4 year olds in 1962 and received one year of preschool experience. From preschool they progressed into the general Ypsilanti Public Schools' kindergarten program and then on into various grade schools. When interviews were completed in 1978, a majority still lived in Ypsilanti having received their schooling within that school system. However, the interviews were undertaken wherever the young adults were including California and Frankfort, Germany, as well as in towns surrounding Ypsilanti. Of the 28 young adults in the sample, all were located and 27 interviewed. The cooperation of the last individual, a girl from the control group, has yet to be gained.

The primary focus of the interviews at the young adult level is upon the general status of the individual during this critical period of family formation and entry into the adult work force. It is anticipated that any data gained will be transitory because of the turmoil that accompanies such transition. The anticipated age 25 interviews will provide a far more stable performance picture and permit more predictive indications of the future. At age 19 our principal focus has been upon the general situational variables related to the economic involvement in the community both in the sense of earnings as well as various kinds of social transfer payments. While the individual is asked about family, school history, work experiences, relationships to own parents and family, crime and delinquency behavior, all phases of the interview are tied insofar as possible to verification by third parties. Thus the parents, school personnel, juvenile or probation court workers, counselors, and employers are also interviewed for substantiation of the data whereever possible.

Table 4 gives some of the basic information obtained from these initial interviews. Employment is an interesting category for in the Ypsilanti area the jobs are very divergent. If the individual can obtain work on the assembly line of one of the major automobile factories, the income is extraordinarily good for an individual often without a high school diploma. Thus working full time with some overtime means an income of $14,000 to $20,000 the first year on the job. On the other hand, casual labor at the fast food restaurant is at the minimum wage. After obtaining the job, employment may last for only a short time, primarily because the individual stops going to work. Employment in this report is relative to the time of the interview. Later analysis will look at it in an accumulative sense.

TABLE 4.—PERRY ASSESSMENT AT AGE 19 PRELIMINARY FINDINGS; WAVE O

Category	E	C
Original sample, 1962	13	15
Sample interviewed, 1978	13	14
Employed	4	0
High school graduates	7	3
Arrested or in jail	4	8
High school dropouts	6	10
Teenage parents	6	6
Receiving welfare	0	2

The police arrest or "jail" data is computated in the same manner. It refers to the time of the interview. Some of those arrested will not be prosecuted. One individual from each group was actually sentenced and in prison at the time of the interview.

Using only the present data, the pattern of welfare usage also suggests that considerable savings will be obtained through the differences in welfare utilization by the experimental group as compared to the greater use by the control group participants.

In reviewing these initial data several major points emerge. First, these young people in both groups have achieved at a higher rate than expected. These youngsters were selected at age 4 as disadvantaged children at high risk in terms

of academic development. With mean Stanford-Binet Intelligence Scale scores of 79 (range 70–84)), the actual school completion rate and college attendance these groups have achieved would never have been predicted. While a detailed analysis of these data will be necessary to link specific components of the performance to understand the various factors that lead to such accomplishments, the fact remains that it has occurred. Certainly one of the cautions introduced by these initial findings is to suggest extreme care in the current diagnosis-and-treatment syndrom that is affecting education today. Certainly the move toward mainstreaming and away from "tracking" high risk youngsters is supported by these data.

In the Ypsilanti Perry Project, the findings of any differences at age 15 is amazing. Preschool programs are notorious for their supposed failure to produce long-term impact. Yet these data are continuing to support the value of early quality intervention in a range of logical and consistent areas. Significant and improving academic performance, for the experimental youth with enough age-19 data in to suggest that the improvement continues beyond age 15. Identification by teachers in the early grades that the experimental group children are better adjusted emotionally, have better academic motivation and potential, that they outrank the control group in classroom conduct and personal behavior. In short, the success flow, to use Polk's term, starts early and continues throughout school for the experimental group.

With the differences in the groups at age 15 in school, family, and community, it is clear that greater school success, better relations and communication with parents, and better adjustment to the community with a lower level of delinquency and active employment has been achieved by the experimental group.

What is the impact of Early Childhood Intervention on the development of juvenile delinquency? Using these data, quality early education has multiple outcome potential. One critical outcome is to reduce the level of delinquency at age 15 and apparently, on limited data, at age 19. Further these data suggest that school failure did not "cause" delinquency. School failure, reduction of parental aspiration, reduced employment, and increased delinquency all occurs as the outcome of the generally less able capacity of the control group children.

OTHER RELATED STUDIES

While the Ypsilanti Perry Preschool project represents one of the most complete studies of disadvantaged youth selected for initial low ability and probable school difficulty, High/Scope Foundation also operated a project designed as a mainstreamed classroom where the full range of special education children could participate with normal youngsters. The High/Scope First Chance project, sponsored by the Bureau of Education for the Handicapped served handicapped and nonhandicapped preschool children in an integrated setting. Nonhandicapped children were recruited from the community and were between the ages of 3 and 5 years. All nonhandicapped children were of normal intelligence.

The handicapped children served by the program included mentally retarded, language impaired, physically or health impaired, hearing impaired or emotionally disturbed. Physical/health handicaps included epilepsy, cerebral palsy, scoleosis and muscular dystrophy, stroke and heart disease. Causes of developmental delays included pre-natal brain injury, brain dysfunction due to high fever, Down's syndrome and other genetic anomalies.

The handicapped children were preschool age (one or 2 years prior to kindergarten eligibility) either chronologically or developmentally. The project has served children from 2½ through 7 years chronologically, and from approximately 1 year old through 5 years developmentally. All of the handicapped children accepted by the project have met the criteria for eligibility for school services under Michigan's Mandatory Special Education Act (P. A. 198).

The summative evaluation was conducted during the 1975–76 and 1976–77 academic years. Based upon the results of earlier research involving the Cognitively Oriented Preschool Curriculum (e.g., Weikart, Bond, & McNeil, 1978), children were expected to show the largest test gains during the first year they were in the program, in this case, either 1975–76 or 1976–77. Accordingly, the data selected to evaluate program goals were the scale scores obtained by children during their first year in the program. Also on the basis of previous evaluation results, directional (one-tailed) significance tests were employed.

The numbers of handicapped and nonhandicapped children served by the program in 1975–76 were 13 and 18, respectively. The numbers of "new" handicapped and nonhandicapped children served in 1976–77 were six and nine, re-

spectively. Across both years, results are missing for three handicapped and five nonhandicapped students because they refused to be tested, missed a significant part of the year due to illness, or moved away before post-testing. Thus, the results reported here are for 16 handicapped and 22 nonhandicapped students.

Handicapped children accomplished significant gains ($p < .05$) on each of the MSCA [4] subscales. Nonhandicapped children accomplished significant gains on all subscales except the motor subscale. Since the scale index values are norm-referenced and controlled for effects due to maturation, significant differences in pretest and posttest scores strongly support the claim that program children make significant gains in verbal, quantitative, general cognitive, memory and perceptual development.

Of major importance in this study is not only the significant general intellectual gains of the handicapped children, but the equally large gains made by the nonhandicapped youngsters. Early education can assist a wide range of children, not just the disadvantaged.

POLICY IMPLICATIONS

How could such results be achieved by national programs such as Head Start? Small, intensive research projects do not lend themselves easily to replication by large-scale social-service programs. It is possible, on the other hand, to identify aspects of the Perry Project that most likely contributed to these long-term findings and that could conceivably be replicated on a large scale:

The project served the most disadvantaged, in the economic and educational senses of the term.

The project had a curriculum derived from cognitive-developmental theory—the Cognitively Oriented Curriculum.

The educational program combined a daily classroom component with a weekly home-teaching visit to each family.

The staff operational model was oriented toward maximum participation by all staff under conditions that encouraged and supported major effort.

On the whole, these data from the most disadvantaged sector of our population are highly encouraging. The Perry program didn't "cure" the participating children like some miracle drug, and the data do not indicate that every participating child did better "forever after" as some fairy tales would have it. On the other hand, the data indicate that a real and major difference exists between those who participated in preschool and those who did not. Preschool may well be one of the few really effective means of helping educationally disadvantaged children. Our task is to develop the administrative and training procedures needed to spread effective practices to all preschool programs. The policy recommendations which follow are offered in that spirit.

Major emphasis should be given by funding agencies to support for current efforts to follow up the several early preschool research efforts.—The data from these studies point to a slow but impressive accumulation of advantage for youngsters who participated in experimental programs of early education. Such findings, if supported by further research, will force a major reconsideration of the effects of preschool education. The early education field had given up the hope of long-term gains and had accepted the necessity of short-term outcomes. These data suggest that such an orientation was premature.

Major emphasis should be given to the full implementation of model curricula in Head Start and other preschool programs.—These long-term and highly supportive findings come from a project that utilized a coherent, theory-based educational model. An educational model, when given full administrative and teacher support, can bring organization and clarity to a program, which increases its effectiveness.

Major emphasis should be given to the development of complete programs that include classroom experiences and parental involvement through home teaching.—In the Perry program the mix of elements was half-day center-based experiences five days a week and half-day home-teaching experience once a week. That organization provided an opportunity for the parents to be involved in the actual teaching of their children. The combination of both classroom and home teaching was a central concept of the Perry Project and may have been the driving force behind its success.

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[4] McCarthy Scales of Children's Abilities.

A RECOMMENDATION

The search for methods of aiding the youth of our society develop into mature and contributing adults has taken many forms over the last two decades. While indirect methods such as federal income policies, urban renewal, and other social programs have focused on the general social environment, direct services such as day care, parenting education, and infant, preschool, and general compensatory education have also been undertaken. The longitudinal data generated by such early education studies as the Ypsilanti Perry Preschool Project buttressed by such back up information as the High/Scope special education Outreach Project suggest a renewed focus on early education as an effective procedure among those necessary to solve the general problem. It has taken almost 20 years of research to reach this point, but the data are clear. Quality early childhood education delivers support to disadvantaged children so that they achieve with a higher rate of success at a reduced cost to the taxpayer.

It is recommended that national programs serving disadvantaged children and their parents, such as National Head Start and programs in special education, be expanded to reach all those youngsters who may benefit from such service. Specifically, it is recommended that the number of children served be doubled in 3 years and reach three times the current number in 5 years.

The recommendation is made because there is clear evidence that such programming will:

1. Increase the general achievement of participating children as they progress.
2. Reduce the cost of general education by reducing the need for special education and other remedial services.
3. Increase the general satisfaction of both parents and children with school.
4. Increase the potential for high school completion and college attendance.
5. Reduce the incidence of juvenile delinquency.
6. Increase the potential for employment and thereby reduce the need for welfare.
7. Increase the future earnings of the participants.

The problems that need to be resolved relate to the consistent delivery of quality early education programs to participants. Various research projects currently underway must be examined to determine the basis of quality in programming. New projects must be undertaken as well. Questions about which children are likely to benefit most need to be explored. But these issues are those of implementation of a procedure that "works." Of all the various programs and policies that have tried to improve the potential of children in our society, early childhood education has now demonstrated the capacity to deliver significant impact. It is now up to the adults who create and fund the services to see that the children have the opportunity to avail themselves of this chance for a better life.

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STATEMENT OF DR. DAVID P. WEIKART, PRESIDENT, HIGH/SCOPE FOUNDATION, YPISLANTI, MICH.

Mr. WEIKART. Good morning, Mr. Chairman. I am Dave Weikart from the High/Scope Foundation of Ypislanti, Mich. It is a research and development group which works throughout the United States and some foreign countries in early childhood. We have been involved in programs for approximately 20 years [illegible] our first project in 1962.

It is primarily about those youngste[illegible] I would like to refer to today.

I prepared testimony which I submitted for the committee but I would like to restrict my remarks to a general comment at this point.

I think that it is interesting to say that the status of early childhood education has changed dramatically from the sixties into the seventies. I think we will look forward to a continued change in the eighties. In a sense, in the sixties, the question was will it work. In the seventies, the question was well, we have some evidence, but we just do not know. We are waiting. I think the thing there is at work, how do we get the test done?

In a way, some of the initial goals back in the early sixties that we were looking at were such things as, can early childhood education be used as a way to prevent juvenile delinquency? You recall back to when we came into 1961–62, that was a primary concern in education and with the public at large.

In a sense, the search for early childhood education as a way to deal with juvenile delinquency was a strange one, but at least one that offered some opportunities, and there were others, of course.

Another, that there was a concern, could we find a way of letting poor children rest in education away from schools because we were seeing some children not succeed. In a sense, the push for both the national war on poverty, the national Head Start and various programs of this nature were based on the idea that we could develop procedures for making some impact.

In a sense, while asking those questions at that time, both the politicians and the school people were unwilling to accept what the impact of those questions meant, which was a lot of time between asking the questions, setting up the research, setting up the programs, and waiting for the answers.

Now, almost 20 years later, I think I have moved myself from being kind of hopefully a dispassionate, well-organized researcher into a bit of a person who is now on a soap box with a story to tell and point to make. I can make it in three ways.

Based on the data at hand, which are both scientifically derived from families, from testimony, from these kinds of things, watching 123 children grow for 20 years, I come out with three conclusions.

The first, that quality preschool education is effective in improving the performance of high-risk children in schools. There is simply no question about that. We look at children at age 19 and still see the impact in highly significant ways.

Second is quality preschool education is a product of hard work by adults, by trained people in the field. In other words, there is no magic, no wand, no little thing that we can do. It is plain hard work.

And third, and perhaps most important for a public committee like this, is quality preschool education not only helps the children but also represents a significant savings to taxpayers. I found that point is the one that makes the businessman sit up and say, "tell me a little bit more about this strange area of preschool education".

In a sense, what I would like to do now is look at some of these points and then come to some recommendations. The program I have worked with was one that was based on half-day preschool and home visits where the mothers received some assistance in the home, about 90 minutes each week. I think it is important to note the mix of the service, beause in a sense it represents a sort of relationship to Head Start which is very important, that parents are included, and that is a very important segment.

We dealt with children over a series of years, which means that we used the scientific methods of small samples which were then added together. This gives a lot of validity to the outcomes.

What we have found by working with the system and following the children is this: That the change in school performance was not some massive shift immediately and thereafter continued, but was a gradual accumulation of success—a little bit in first grade, a little more in second, and a little more in third, and so forth through all the grades. We noticed a great deal of difference by the eighth grade and now as we look at youngsters at age 19 we find a 50-percent better performance by 19-year-olds than their control peers—kids who did not attend preschool programs.

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We have heard a lot about Head Start regarding things like sleeper effects, where there is a program that is offered and nothing seems to happen for 5, 6, 7 years and then suddenly there is a result. We do not find that. We find the evidence begins right at the start and gets greater, so the impact continues.

Second, we find that we can alter the way that the schools treat the children and in this, I am referring to special educational placement and placement in-grade and the way schools have been trying to help youngsters having difficulty working in school. Unfortunately this also presents problems to the child who is placed in these programs.

Unfortunately, it normally costs up to four times this much when we provide these services. In our particular program, we find that we reduce the use of special education or retention by 50 percent.

It is these data that produce, then, from an economic point of view, a benefit-cost analysis that shows that most of the costs of the preschool program could be recovered by reduced educational costs as the child proceeds through school.

If we use such things as potential future earnings, we find that there is a tremendous greater return and, in current dollars, about a 248-percent return on the investment. This is enough to make a substantial savings.

I find when I talk to educators about this point, they want to ask me the question, "what is my savings as a school system?" And I find if 1 year of preschool is provided, the savings are completely recovered during school education. If 2 years of preschool are provided, about 60 percent of the costs are recovered.

However, new data are coming forth that lead us to ask if school persons are looking at this in too narrow a way. We look at juvenile delinquency rates and find significant differences at age 15, in juvenile delinquency patterns, such as theft of property, assaults on people, these kinds of things.

We are not, at age 19, getting as yet differential conviction rates, getting differential arrests rates between controls and experimentals. As this unfolds over the next 5 years during periods of high crime activity by some minority, a very small percent of youngsters involved in studies like this, I think our cost data will become very, very supportive of the investment by the society in programs of this nature.

There are problems, though, in taking a project like this and talking about it in a large, public context and that problem relates to the fact that we do not really know yet the consequences of different kinds of programs. I am not a supporter of the high/scope, that the high/scope curriculum that we use should be used in every school in the country. I do not think that is a wise policy, but we do not know the consequences of different kinds of programs.

Advocates of program A or program B or program C must pass some kind of both quality test and long-term impact criteria. We must know the long-term results of our work with children by different curriculum.

Second: It is also clear by my program, and other programs, that not all children benefit from the effort. This is not a cure-all.

We can reduce retention rates and alter long-term performance, but we cannot correct the situation totally. This means in a sense that looking at education, or preschool education, as a means of resolving

the total educational problems we face, or even the social problems the society faces, is a fallacious way to proceed.

What I hope, what I feel strongly, is that early childhood education offers a means to contribute to other kinds of things such as child policies, income maintenance, or procedures of that nature, occupational training, vocational education, other devices that are necessary to resolve these problems.

The point is, preschool education is a demonstrated procedure to affect those issues.

We are facing as we move away from the kinds of sample that this study represents. In our study we used children that were poor then and more disadvantaged than the current Head Start youngster.

We are finding that, as we move from those kids, we have less and less scientific reason to generalize. This is a problem that I think a committee like this faces in trying to think about the extent of programs and how they should be offered.

As we move away from the direct data, we are generalizing. While it is important that we have the liberty to do that, we must do that with caution.

Another factor: We have to look and understand more clearly what the link is between early education involvement and the adult behavior. One of the questions here is that there appears to be a notion from sociology which is useful called success flow. Apparently the linkage is once children succeed, they continue to succeed. There is a lot of theory from sociology about that point, but it is a useful point of thinking about the issue.

With these kinds of data, what can we do with it? What is our position?

As a researcher, after two decades of working with it, in the sense that I came out of the closet from being one who says, "on the one hand and but then on the other hand," I would now like to really say that we are in a position where some specific kinds of things can be done. The first is that Head Start and related programs through special education and the Bureau of the Handicapped need to be expanded.

I personally would like to see a target of the numbers of children served double within 2 years and triple within 5.

On a cost-benefit basis, this actually should reduce total public expenditures in education by making this progress.

The reason for this recommendation is that it increases the general achievement of children as they progress through school.

It also reduces the cost of education by reducing the need for special high-cost services. And a footnote here—if we do not provide special high-cost services, of course, it does not reduce the cost of education. But as we move to special education services, expending them through various public acts and laws, we indeed are rapidly expanding the obligation of the public sector for special education.

These programs will reduce it.

Third: There is a great increase in the general satisfaction by parents and their children with the schools. This includes such things as higher expectations of completing high school, higher expectations for going to college, these types of things.

And this is an important social return from an investment in early education.

Fourth: There is a greatly increased potential for high school completion and college attendance. Those data are not yet clear, but they appear to be coming true.

Fifth: There is, at age 15, the reduction of the incidence of juvenile delinquency. I have not included that reduction in cost figures at this point, but we will be doing that in the future.

Sixth: There is an increased potential for employment, thereby reducing the need for welfare. Again, that is a tentative finding, not a final finding at this point.

Last: There is very clearly in actuarial tables an increase in the future earnings of the participants.

Basically, then, I take the position that research in this field has done approximately two decades of work. There are a number of studies that have been set up on an experimental basis, gone through the usual scientific tests and rigor. There are problems with each of the studies. There are always issues of this nature.

But the point is, I think at this point, we can answer a question which was asked in the early 1960's: Does preschool make a difference in the future lives of children? The answer is yes, and the task, it seems to me, is to get to the task of expanding the services to those children who need them and it needs to be done now.

Thank you very much.

Mr. ANDREWS. Let us hear from Barbara, if she would care to speak, and then we can ask questions.

All right, Barbara.

STATEMENT OF BARBARA KAMARA, ASSOCIATE COMMISSIONER FOR DEVELOPMENTAL SERVICES, ADMINISTRATION FOR CHILDREN, YOUTH, AND FAMILIES, DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

Ms. KAMARA. I would like to say a few words briefly. I would like to thank you for providing this opportunity, not only as the staff people in the headquarters office who are working with Head Start across this country but who have looked very anxiously at the results of the findings and certainly have been pleased with the fact it has received so much publicity.

As Jack Calhoun indicated earlier, we certainly are taking a look at these findings. I think Dr. Palmer certainly pointed out while these studies were not all directly related to Head Start there was one Head Start program but there are certainly many implications of things that we might undertake with the Head Start program, that some of those include expanding some of our existing programs, such as the child and family resources program which enrolls the family rather than just enrolling the child.

The traditional regular Head Start program enrolls children primarily from ages 3 through compulsory school age and in our childhood and family resources program we enroll the entire family, including prenatal activities, and that moves up through age 8.

We currently have 11 of those programs around the country, one in each of our regional offices and we are going to look more closely at

these findings, not only the findings of the longitudinal study but findings of some of our research related to the child and family resources program to see how we might incorporate that more readily into the ongoing Head Start model.

There may be some questions that you specifically have about what we will be doing in the future. There may also be some questions of the researchers since they are here and I would like for us at this time to hear those questions and I certainly would be happy to, again, elaborate on some of the things that we are at least thinking about at this particular point in time.

Mr. ANDREWS. Barbara, I suppose we will have questions, comments, or exchanges, hopefully with each of the witnesses, but let me see if I understood you correctly.

You say that we have some 11 programs in which children are retained in the Head Start program through age 8?

Ms. KAMARA. No; the children are not retained. We enroll the family in that particular program and we provide services that would assist a family through age 8. The children would go on to a public school but as they move on to public school they may need followup services and we have tried to do that with some other additional services for the family in working with the child through age 8. Not that the child remains in Head Start for that long a period of time.

Mr. ANDREWS. Does that conflict any with the Follow Through program?

Ms. KAMARA. No, it does not conflict with the Follow Through program. In fact, it would complement what is happening in the Follow Through program, particularly if some of those children might enter a school which had a Follow Through program in it and those parents would have some extra support services or they would have gained their own skills and can work more effectively with the school in which their children are being enrolled.

It certainly has been our intent to work very cooperatively with the Follow Through.

Mr. ANDREWS. Would some of those children be simultaneously served by both programs?

Ms. KAMARA. That is possible. I do not know enough. I cannot say specifically now that they are.

Certainly I can look into that and provide that information for you at a later date.

Mr. ANDREWS. Let us ask all of the witnesses to return.

It happens that my wife is a teacher and I have a daughter who is a teacher. My mother is a teacher and her sister is a teacher and her mother is a teacher. So I am rather enmeshed, and always have been, in one form of education or another.

It seems to me that the studies to which you two gentlemen have referred serve a very real, meaningful, and beneficial purpose. I am pleased that the conclusions are as they are. I do think that they are very worthwhile and will be beneficial throughout the country. Among other things, they will, I believe, be beneficial to this subcommittee and committee as we begin to enlarge our congressional efforts towards these aims that I believe all of us here support.

On the other hand, I just cannot resist wondering if anyone who is familiar with childhood development and has, for lack of better termi-

nology, commonsense, has not known everything you concluded long before you began the study? Now, that is not to say that the study is not worthwhile. Frequently we can have an opinion that is so strongly held that it becomes even more than an opinion—in our own opinion it becomes a fact. However, we cannot sell it to others unless we have some kind of documentation other than the simple assertion of what we believe. Hence, again, I think your studies are of immense value in giving us information that verifies beliefs we may have already held supporting Head Start.

I know we are talking about different-aged children, but communities and people throughout the world have long known that scouting, YMCA, YWCA, church and community recreation programs, and other sundry programs are the things, done to a considerable extent on behalf of children, that seek to provide information, nutrition, a better home environment, and all of that.

I do not think there is a lot of new information. But again, I do not want there to be any inference or any assumption that I do not applaud and appreciate the good work that you and others have done in the field of testing, and I rejoice with you that your scientific data has supported what I think all of us at least assumed to be the case from the beginning.

Just as an aside, if I may, Dr. Palmer. I believe you said that your study, or the study that you were associated with, has been dormant or nonexistent for some 2 years due to a lack of funding. Is that correct?

Mr. PALMER. That is correct, sir.

Mr. ANDREWS. Regarding the children in your study, I was confused by a couple of figures that you used. I thought you said your study began with these children in 1964 and they are now some 15 years old.

Mr. PALMER. They were born in 1964, so we began the study at age 2, 24 months, in 1966. I believe that makes them 15.

Mr. ANDREWS. I thought you said 1964.

Mr. PALMER. They were born in 1964.

Mr. ANDREWS. I see.

Mr. PALMER. May I comment?

Mr. ANDREWS. Let me follow up.

Yesterday, I met with the new Administrator of a program, also within the jurisdiction of the subcommittee. The program itself is the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention. The new Administrator, who is administering that program, and I were expressing a lot of interest and concern that although that program, we think, is serving a very worthwhile purpose, it has attempted to engage in activities in only a limited aspect of juvenile need within the country, primarily with the deinstitutionalization of certain types of young people and not certain types of others.

We were considering how resources could better be used to broaden benefits of that program and of that agency.

Among the resources we mentioned was mental health. We discussed it to some considerable extent, particularly in regard to making it more available to serious youthful offenders, with which that program has not really dealt in the past.

I hope that you, Dr. Palmer, and the others who work in similar circumstances, will get together with our staff director, to my left. I

think it may be forth considering whether there is an overlap here. It well may be that some funds that are being spent on certain research and development projects, as it relates to criminality among juveniles, could well be directed or diverted, specifically, to following these children.

Juvenile justice researchers are starting from zero, where as it seems that studying these same children, with the information that is already available, probably would save the taxpayer much more than the dollar spent on new research. It might benefit both those researchers and Head Start as well as others who are concerned with children.

I would encourage you to do that. We might even come out of here with a dual purpose for both programs, where the money could be of double value, perhaps even more.

I am pleased that my good friend, Congressman Corrada, has been able to join us since we began, but I believe I am going to say that Mr. Coleman has seniority over you, not in Congress, but only in terms of this meeting, since he was here first.

With your permission, I will relinquish time to Mr. Coleman.

Mr. COLEMAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. CORRADA. Mr. Chairman, I recognize that seniority exclusively for the purpose of this hearing. [Laughter.]

Mr. ANDREWS. For one purpose, right.

Mr. COLEMAN. To my good friend from Puerto Rico, I thank you for your indulgence.

Dr. Palmer and Dr. Weikart, I thank you for coming today and also for exhibiting what I think is at least a trace of intellectual honesty in your testimony when you point out the pitfalls of some of your own studies and some of the data that we like to perhaps extrapolate and create our own conclusions with.

There was another study, the Westinghouse study, and I would like to have both of you respond to the fact that there were very different conclusions between that study and the studies that you both were involved with.

The Westinghouse study was concerned just with Head Start or was it also analyzing other preschool intervention programs similar to yours? What were tthe differences between the two studies in approach and methodology?

In general, I understand that a very lengthy, detailed answer could be given, but, as briefly as possible, could you point out some of the differences for us?

Mr. PALMER. I can do that, Mr. Coleman.

The Westinghuse report when conducted made an imprint upon our society and every subsequent reanalysis of this data done by people like Eisenbaum and various other people have taken the data and reanalyzed it.

This is one of those cases where the reanalysis showed quite different results, have never caught up with the original perception which the Westinghouse report made. In other words, the reanalysis of those studies and the use of the kinds of dependent variables which were used has probably been criticized in the scientific literature as much as any single report I have ever known.

None of that criticism has ever reached the public level of the media as I referred to before, and I would like to point out to Mr. Andrews, that if you think that everyone has always believed this, it was indeed

the Westinghouse report, the Jensen articles, and the Bronfenbrenner statements, and the climate of the 1970's, which led some to contend that these things did not work.

And maybe some of us thought that it had to, as I am sure you feel, too. But the fact is that the media of that time was almost unanimous in this country, taking the position of the Westinghouse report.

That has been reanalyzed. I can give you the references.

Mr. COLEMAN. Was the Westinghouse study made of just Head Start?

Mr. PALMER. Yes. Purely a Head Start study.

Mr. COLEMAN. So the resource and control groups were different?

Mr. PALMER. Yes.

Mr. WEIKART. One footnote may help. Yes, it was all Head Start. However, one of the major differences between the studies that Frank and I are talking about including those in the consortium report, and the Westinghouse report is that it was set up not with control groups but with comparison groups—kids that were thought to be like those that they were examining.

So we had youngsters who went through Head Start and youngsters who did not, for some reason, who were thought to be like those who went through Head Start.

This compares very dramatically with my own study where all the children who are eligible were then randomly reassigned to either participate or not participate. So we know that the kids were the same, because they came from the same location.

So the different performance is the same and represents the difference in the early experience—not that they are in different communities or different segments and separate. Maybe that is one principal difference that is very important between these studies and that.

I think, though, that in our analysis of your youngsters we find that our kids are worse off than Head Start kids on the average. I think in a way the Head Start/not Head Start question is more a time issue. We began in 1962; there was no Head Start.

So there are some issues there too.

Mr. PALMER. I would like to add, Mr. Coleman, that the Westinghouse report data was collected in the 1960's. One of the things that, as an observer of Head Start, that I can say, is that the efficiency and ingenuity that has gone into Head Start since that time, in terms of improvements, have been enormous.

Mr. COLEMAN. In the Lazar study, were the control group students aware that they were being studied?

Mr. WEIKART. First, there is no Lazar study. The consortium is a group of 8- to 14-independent investigators who have agreed to pool their data or submit it for reanalysis. So there is nothing that generalizes across the consortium data.

Four of the 14 studies are true experiments with random assignment of sample. Out of these four, two or three—I am not sure of the number—the kids whose parents and the youngsters who participated did so without choice, so to speak. They were not forced to participate, but nor was it an option.

It is like the parents in our study not wanting to decline to participate. So they were not forced to. On the other hand they saw it as such an advantage that those who did not get to participate were unhappy about that.

On the other hand, in some of the studies, the kids were drawn as volunteers—"would you like to participate? Please call this number and let us know." The studies differ in that respect.

So there is not an answer that covers all of the studies but the basic core of the consortium report was done, not by volunteer parents, but by those who were selected by some process.

Mr. PALMER. Mr. Coleman, let me reemphasize. There is no Lazar study.

Professor Lazar was selected by the individual investigators because we wanted, at that time, someone to take an unbiased look at our data. And we gave Cornell and Professor Lazar our data.

He subsequently analyzed that data and his findings are on the data of the three or four studies that Dr. Weikart mentioned. Dr. Lazar has never collected any data.

Mr. COLEMAN. I guess I stand corrected. I simply refer to the Lazar study as a vehicle, I guess you might say, for discussion purposes.

Mr. Corrada, do you have any questions? I do not want to monopolize the time if other members have questions. I can come back or I can proceed.

Mr. ANDREWS. We have about 50 minutes of remaining time and you may proceed accordingly.

Mr. COLEMAN. Either one of the professors, you may respond. Are there any programs that you have seen which can actually harm children in the preschool environment?

Mr. WEIKART. I think most of us in the field think that any well-organized and thought-through program at this time will be helpful to children. I think the programs that we see that harm children are the ones I would categorize as sort of passive or neglectful—maybe not neglect except in the sense it is lack of attention to the program, lack of attention to detail of operation.

It is possible to operate programs that are not useful to children. It is pretty difficult to operate a program that actually harms them. It is rather an extreme condition but it is possible to operate programs for children that do not do anything for kids.

Mr. PALMER. I disagree a little with Dave on this. I think there are many preschool programs which harm children. I think that it is entirely possible that programs which, because of the cost of quality care, pay their teachers the minimum wage, turn them over as quickly as possible, do not train them and then reduce every cost in order to make money, do indeed harm children.

We are at the point where the cost of running quality day care in this country, particularly for toddlers, is $5,000 a year per child, if you have trained teachers at the baccalaureate level in the classroom.

Mr. COLEMAN. In the consortium study, did any of the individual studies primarily focus on rural as opposed to urban programs, or were all of them urban programs?

Mr. PALMER. Dr. Susan Grace's study in Tennessee was rural. Dr. Ira Gordon's study in Gainsville, Fla., was partly rural. The answer is the rural population was represented in the total sample.

Mr. COLEMAN. Can any conclusions be drawn from that data?

Mr. PALMER. Between rural and urban? No.

One of the problems with the nature of these studies is that, while we can tell the main effect—that is that we did good in making the

kids perform better in school—we have not derived and cannot from these studies because of the variety of their designs, much information about the relative effects of duration of intensity, hours per week, how early the child should begin.

These very important things, not to mention the different kinds of curriculum that has been used and what kinds of children are most appropriate to what curricula, we cannot answer those kinds of questions from our data.

Mr. WEIKART. For the other side of that coin, a variety of these programs dealing with these things in varying, different ways, have, in fact, been successful. So in a sense, the umbrella is, we do not have the precision but we have the umbrella.

That, in a sense, is a very positive position.

Mr. COLEMAN. This is my final question. If you could suggest, under the terms of the umbrella, what we as a subcommittee, when the reauthorization of this program comes up, if you would like to see any changes or suggestions because of your own personal studies or as a result of the consortium analysis of Head Start. Do you have any?

Mr. PALMER. I have three suggestions: First I believe we should continue the studies and start more with the new children. To answer the kinds of questions that I said we could not answer at the present time; second, I think we should extend the present studies, at least those that are well-designed, so that we can get a greater sample to answer the questions that Dave has asked, such as school dropouts, who gets in trouble with the law and so forth; and third, I think that this committee must support Head Start in terms of a continuous problem with a large urban city as a grantee.

The concept of Head Start works. Intervention works. But between the level in Washington—and this staff knows this very well—and what actually happens in a large, urban city, a lot of things can go wrong that they cannot control.

Somehow or another, the hold of city politics on Head Start programs where the city is the grantee has to come under control.

Mr. WEIKART. I would just raise one issue. From these programs, it is suggested that there are things within the programs that have to be present in order to be effective and, in a sense, it has been easier for us to regulate certain things like square footage and cubic feet per minute of air change and space for the tables and number of teachers to pupils and these kinds of things.

Those are convenient things to attempt to regulate, but they are only tangentially related or obliquely related, to the quality issue of the program. And some of the issues that seem to float up dealing with the quality, which are almost impossible to regulate, but are issues.

One of the facts is that the programs need to have some identifiable curriculum, and that has not been due. We have not had to wrestle with that in the past. We have to continue to raise the issue of training which Frank mentioned and it is certainly a part of our concern right through the chilld development consortium. These kinds of things are important.

We do have to deal with the issue of supervision. How do we supervise these programs, and those are not easy to handle but are key to making success?

Mr. COLEMAN. If I might ask one more question, do you know if the person who made the study on Head Start in the consortium is available to testify? Why are they not testifying here today?

Mr. RALEY. If I could answer that, Professor Lazar was contacted. He left for the west coast and was unavailable for the hearing.

Mr. COLEMAN. He conducted the original research on the Head Start program?

Mr. WEIKART. The Westinghouse? Cicarelli.

Mr. COLEMAN. No, in the consortium— I do not want to say study.

Mr. PALMER. Irv Lazar has been on the Hill the last 6 months as an academic.

Mr. COLEMAN. One of these studies was of a Head Start program. I am just wondering who would be available.

Mr. PALMER. Zigler did the New Haven study which was partly Head Start.

Mr. COLEMAN. As far as you know, they are available to testify?

Mr. PALMER. Sure.

Mr. COLEMAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. ANDREWS. Before recognizing Mr. Corrada for the purpose of questions, let me briefly, if I may, see if we can broaden this, before we go to further questions.

Have either of you, or have any of the studies with which you are familiar, attempted to identify children who participated in Follow Through, as distinguished from Head Start, so as to arrive at any information or opinions as to the benefits or lack of benefits that these children have derived.

Mr. PALMER. The study conducted by Zigler and Schitz in New Haven did follow the children in the Follow Through. Other than that, the studies to which I have referred, have not, to my knowledge.

Mr. ANDREWS. Did that study make any differentiation between the results of children who participated in Head Start and Follow Through versus those in Head Start and not Follow Through?

Mr. WEIKART. The national study of Follow Through used two bases: children who participated in Head Start and came into Follow Through and those who did not participate in Head Start and came into Follow Through.

There was also a study connected with the national plan for Head Start study done with eight sponsors in 1969, 1970, and 1971. The general funding from the national Follow Through data was that Head Start participation did not make a difference on the Follow Through data.

However, because of the complications with the Follow Through data, the problems that you are well aware of the Stanford data collection procedures, large-scale debates over the analysis of that data leave the question basically open.

Indeed, it might be a worthwhile consideration to get thinking about how some of that might be salvaged 8, 9, 10 years later.

Mr. ANDREWS. I think you stated backwards what I really had in mind. I think you said there was some differentiation between children who participated in Head Start and Follow Through and those who entered Follow Through without having participated in Head Start.

I am more interested in a comparison of children who participated in both as opposed to children who participated in Head Start but not Follow Through.

Mr. WEIKART. I have no data on that.

Mr. PALMER. It is my opinion, sir, that there is no good data on that. I can say for the Follow Through study that a greater variability was found within treatments than across treatments. I am sorry for that jargon.

I just do not think that study was done well enough that we can accept it.

Mr. ANDREWS. That question was based on the fact that as I go over some of the areas of the country talking to people in general who have some familiarity with education in general—Head Start in particular, or Follow Through in particular—all of them seem to conclude that Head Start is an extremely worthwhile program and investment. I have heard no criticism of Follow Through either.

However, a number of the people suggest inasmuch as Head Start is available to, I believe, less than 20 percent of the children who are deemed eligible and there is no reasonable likelihood that funding will be increased appreciably to increase that percentage and inasmuch as there is not any reasonable amount of data to conclude that the children, families, society and the taxpayer, benefit as much from Follow Through as Head Start, that therefore Congress would be wise to phase out Follow Through, if those funds could be diverted to the Head Start.

I guess that may well open up a can of worms for perhaps a lot of people who are supportive of the Follow Through program. But I would be less than candid if I did not make known the fact to any of you who may not be aware of it, that I have heard that thought being expressed. I would say it has been expressed generally—geographically throughout various parts of the country—people in Follow Through, frankly, as well as in Head Start. I have heard this from programs where children have been in both, some in one, some in the other, the teachers, and the principals. This is the basis from which I make the inquiry as to what data, if any, we have that would bear on that question.

Mr. PALMER. I think that our total knowledge about child development, Mr. Chairman, indicates that there are very good reasons why in the earlier years, it is so important to communicate a variety of things to the child. That is when language is set down. That is when he hears sounds which in turn, for the rest of his life influence his articulation, and is ability to use language.

If he does not have that when he is young it is extraordinarily difficult to make it up. It can be made up. Anything can be made up. But it is more difficult to make it up later on.

The answer is, we need both, and I know we cannot afford both.

Mr. ANDREWS. We can afford both—but perhaps only if we continue to diminish the effect or quality.

Certainly it is also conceivable that you can sacrifice one for the other. That is why I asked Barbara, with regard to the 8-year-old, if she might considerably use resources better if she only had one program, even if that program extended the years that children might participate: Allowing for two separate programs, two separate administrations, and two separate overheads, you have that third op-

tion—merging them to come up with a new name, reducing the friction of one against the other.

You might extend participation to children now served by the two separate programs. So there are three alternatives. The first and second is to eliminate one of the programs in favor of the other. The third is having one program which extends the age of those being served so as to include children through the ages of those children currently served by Follow Through.

Mr. WEIKART. I think the third alternative you are referring to is an interesting concept and one which is, in a sense, reflected in part by several of the current attempts.

When you asked earlier about the conflict with Follow Through, in a way, the answer in a sense to that is simply different schools, even if they occur in the same school system. They have been separate at this point.

As a person who has been with the national Follow Through since 1968, as one of the model sponsors, I have come to regard Head Start and Follow Through a little bit like two teams in the Olympics. You have got the downhill skiers and you have got the speed races on the ice and yes, you can eliminate one for the other, but you would not have what you eliminated.

In a sense, that is the Follow Through/Head Start dilemma. To be certain, the $60 million or $50 million from Follow Through could go to Head Start or some of the $700 million or so from Head Start go to Follow Through, but you are making decisions about teams working—to keep the analogy going—working in the Winter Olympics, but they are doing different kinds of things.

Ultimately, I think there needs to be some convergence and maybe that third alternative is an interesting concept.

Mr. ANDREWS. It may be that President Carter will suggest that your analogy regarding the Olympics is not such a good one. [Laughter.]

Mr. WEIKART. I kept my analogy to the Winter Olympics.

Mr. ANDREWS. All right.

Mr. Corrada?

Mr. CORRADA. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I hope that we can keep the children participating in the Olympics, whether it is one or two. Taking from one child to give to the other as an approach to this problem of funding Head Start by taking from Follow Through—I suggest that we should strengthen both programs and find other alternatives within the many other Federal programs available from which money can be taken, but not from other children.

I would hope that we do not take money from children to help other children. I would hope that if we are going to scrutinize the budget we might find some ways to flatten the budget adult-related program, but that we would not look into the question on a very narrow basis of one or even two programs that serve our youngsters, particularly given the fact that in doing so we would save other costs to society. We would have to consider that when those children become adolescents and adults we will then have to take care of them through other, more costly, Federal programs.

Let me say before asking any questions that of course, I am very pleased to see these studies indicating the efficiency and the results that preschooling and the Head Start program have had on the development of our children.

As the chairman said, perhaps many of these things were a matter of common sense, but it is always nice to see them verified by some kind of scientific evidence.

I am delighted by these results and the fact that in 1978 when we reauthorized Head Start we were able to add $150 million to the program which was good from the outset but lacked sufficient funding from Congress.

That decision in 1978 certainly appears to be a well-taken decision. I can only hope, Mr. Chairman, that we on this committee can be instrumental in seeing that the $90 million in additional funds requested for fiscal year 1981 be provided and I, for one, will be active both on the Budget Committee as well as the Appropriation Committee in seeing that this $90 million, which obviously is not enough, at least be provided under the fiscal 1981 budget.

I would like to address a question to Dr. Weikart. You talked at some length about the effects of the preschool training on low-income children.

I wonder, in your research did you examine the effects on handicapped children?

Mr. WEIKART. The youngsters we worked with basically were in what we call the slow learner or that category initially. The children that we worked with specifically with handicaps, with various kinds of physical handicaps, emotional handicaps, was a small study sponsored by the Bureau of the Handicapped in their special outreach studies, a series of small programs around the country designed for handicapped children and sponsored by the Bureau and in that project we found similar kinds of immediate gains that we found in our long-term studies.

Those children are not scheduled for follow-up at this point, although we are giving some thought to it, as they are now in third grade.

But during the projects that we found parallel kinds of gains from that participant group as well.

It is interesting, as well, we ran that program in an integrated classroom, mainstream classroom, where these handicapped children were enrolled with normal youngsters. We found the gains we were getting with the handicapped youngsters were also found with the normal-progress youngsters. It was not detrimental to those youngsters, the handicapped kids, or detrimental to normal progress kids to be in the same classroom receiving the same programs.

Mr. CORRADA. In your opinion, are additional parenting skills an important part of the preschool program?

Mr. WEIKART. In my experience, both in Follow Through and Head Start, the involvement of parents is very important but they need to be involved in more the level than the policy analysis or signing up and so forth. They need to be involved actively in working with their own children with the assistance of teaching staff. I do find that very important.

Mr. CORRADA. Do you find a deficiency in the level of involvement of the parents in the programs?

Mr. WEIKART. If we take broad data from, say, the consortium group it appears that the programs that include parents in an active way are very contributory to the development of the child. There are programs that do not include parents as actively that also have been successful, but it seems to my view of the data, in a very rough way, that the

inclusion of the parent is a pivotal notion. It is not clear whether it is because the parents are being trained by the teachers or the teachers are being trained by the parents. It is important to look. It is a two-way street. And the parent involvement is just not a transmission of knowledge from the know of the teacher but is a sharing from the parents to the teachers.

It may be that second avenue, that is one of the most important vehicles for getting quality programs for children because the teacher then understands the child more effectively, understands his contacts, relationship with the family, and this type of thing.

It is very important to have that two-way street when we do involve parents.

Mr. PALMER. May I respond to that, Mr. Corrada?

Mr. CORRADA. Please.

Mr. PALMER. There are some differences of opinion among the investigators about this, I think. I think that the real danger lies if we take the position that the parent involvement is the major thing—and I do not think that there is any question about that in terms of the theoretical basis of what we are doing. But methodologically I worry a great deal because if the parent involvement—someone is going to ask the question pretty soon, with parent involvement do we get better results than we have gotten just working with the child?

That is an enormously difficult methodological problem. I am afraid that we will come up and not find significant differences between the first studies that come out on that that are comparing just dealing with the child and the child and the parent.

I am afraid that we will go through what we went through in 1969 and so forth all over again with parents' programs. That is to say, a position will be taken that if you do not get any more out of involving the parent, then why pay the extra expenses for involving the parent?

I do not have any question that the results are there, but I think methodologically we will have the same people shooting at us that started off with the Westinghouse report, and so forth, and this time it will be against family involvement.

Mr. CORRADA. Ms. Kamara, I understand the administration will soon be submitting a plan for reauthorization of the Head Start program. It is authorized for next year and it is expected the bill will be sent by the administration soon in anticipation of committee preparation for reauthorization next year.

What are the implications, if any, of the research that has been done in terms of the proposal that will be forthcoming?

Mr. KAMARA. Let me just say to you that we are in the process of taking a look at the reauthorization. There are dialogs going on in the Department right now wherein we are taking a look, not only at this research, but at many of the programs which we have underway to see what some of the implications might be for reauthorization.

As a matter of fact, we have a meeting underway this afternoon and we hope that we can bring to closure some of our current discussions and present a concrete proposal that will go over to OMB and then go over to you in May for your consideration.

So I cannot say right now that we have some specific things in that proposal that directly relate to this particular study or the other studies that we have conducted independent of the study, but we certainly are taking all of those into consideration.

We would certainly like to hear from you if there is some specific aspects of this study that are of interest to you that you would like to see us give some consideration to as we develop this proposal.

Mr. CORRADA. In reading the statement, I see that he makes reference to the fact that we are only serving 20 percent of the total number of children eligible for the Head Start program.

Could you explain generally what compose current eligibility requirements for participation in Head Start?

Ms. KAMARA. The children who participate in Head Start are those who are from between the ages of 3 to compulsory school age. Those families with dependent children, AFDC, and families in poverty, 90 percent of our children would fall into that category and the other 10 percent would be children who are considered over income. Their parents may have varying incomes over the certain poverty guidelines which our programs use and they receive these guidelines on an annual basis and use these in helping them to make decisions as to who would be enrolled.

You are probably aware that the actual enrollment of a child is dependent on the local communities. Local programs have policy councils which include parents as well as community people and they are involved in working with these broad guidelines of AFDC and children in poverty to determine who actually will be enrolled in the local program.

Mr. CORRADA. In your mind, what are the major contributing factors for this severe underserving of children who are eligible for the program, that we have been only able to reach 20 percent?

Ms. KAMARA. The major factor is money. We have an appropriation right now of $735 million. I am certainly pleased to hear you indicate that you are going to actively work for the additional $90 million that we are requesting this year, but it is just basically dollars.

The program is a comprehensive program. It costs to provide all the health services we provide as well as the educational and parent involvement and social services.

Our programs have access to resources at the local level, all sorts of resources. I would certainly say that the Head Start dollar leverage is a lot of other dollars which we really do not see as a part of the actual appropriation.

But honestly, we do not have the money to provide services for the additional children.

Mr. CORRADA. Perhaps along the lines of the results of these studies, the cost-benefit factors, in terms of how much each dollar spent in the Head Start program for these children will save in future service costs for these same children as they grow up, might be a good weapon with which to persuade and to convince some people at OMB, here in Congress, and others that perhaps that is a good investment even if seen on a more economic cost-benefit formula.

And I suggest that this method of analyzing the cost-benefit factors of the program to pinpoint more clearly how much we save when we spend $1 in Head Start might be encouraging not only in terms of future expansion of the program, but also in the reallocation of resources available to other programs which duplicate services or attempt to rectify a situation which could have been prevented through proper implementation of the Head Start program. I would hope

that we would address the needs of these children before it is too late to do anything meaningful for them.

I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. ANDREWS. Very good. Thank you, Mr. Corrada.

I understand, Dr. Weikart, that you indicated the return on investment in Head Start could perhaps be as high as 248 percent. May I ask you how you arrived at that and what sort of terms and dollar value?

Mr. WEIKART. If you look in the testimony, on page 19, table 3, this is using just a 2-year cost period. The actual study was done by the economists, Webber and Foster, from the University of Maryland. They were using 1958 dollars. Using the inflation factor, these are current—and I think these are 1979 dollars. I will not project them into the 1980's, but the 2-year cost of the preschool program was $5,722 which is pretty close to actual current-day costs for Head Start, or for a preschool program. I think Head Start is $2,100 or $2,200.

Mr. KAMARA. $1,700.

Mr. WEIKART. $1,700.

The savings in need for special education, $3,000; the cost savings benefits from increased projected earnings using actuarial projection, $10,000.

Mr. ANDREWS. It is difficult, particularly at this time in the basketball season, for a lot of us from the University of North Carolina to accept anything that comes from the University of Maryland—I guess we will make an exception this time. [Laughter.]

Mr. WEIKART. Maybe a simpler way to look at it, the way I have often thought about it, is that apparently, for a 2-year program, $2 in produces $5 out.

I should stress that these are data based only on early elementary school, as we are talking now, as we are always in the boat Frank talked about, economic resources doing an economic study at age 15.

This may be grossly understated, showing delinquency differences, showing at age 19. Our preliminary data suggests that our arrest rate, incarceration, welfare use, will produce even greater differences in these data. At this point, this is just surface data.

Mr. ANDREWS. Mr. Coleman, did you get to finish your questioning?

Mr. COLEMAN. Let me follow up on a question for clarification, Dr. Weikart.

On your table here, the $10,325, is that over a lifetime, 2 years, or what?

Mr. WEIKART. In the economic study, the economists use standard actuarial tables.

Mr. COLEMAN. A lifetime?

Mr. WEIKART. A lifetime. A work period.

This is the difference between what they would be expected to earn and the control group would be expected to earn, not a gross salary. A net.

Mr. COLEMAN. Net difference.

Mr. WEIKART. Yes.

Mr. COLEMAN. $10,000.

Mr. WEIKART. Let me stress, I am already 10 feet out of my field.

Mr. COLEMAN. Let me ask the people from the Department, it is my understanding that 80 percent of the funds for Head Start go directly

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to the States and 20 percent discretionary funds. I wonder what we are doing with some of the 20-percent funds?

Mr. ROBINSON. Mr. Coleman, that is an understatement, to say that 80 percent would go directly to the State; 80 percent would go directly to the States through the formula. A far larger percentage will go, when we consider that we take some portion of the Secretary's reserve also for funding the States, I think it would probably be closer to 90 percent rather than 80 percent, the other 10 percent being used for training and technical assistance for evaluation studies, for research and demonstration projects which are operated by the program.

These are the principal uses to which the reserve is put. We do take at least half, possibly a little more than half of it, 20 percent reserve, and fund IMPD, Indian and migrant programs, as well as some State Head Start activities.

Mr. COLEMAN. I assume with three authorizations, some of those studies will be placed on our desks for evaluation purposes?

Ms. KAMARA. Some of the studies can be made available now. We do have results from a number of studies and we would certainly be glad to give you an overview of those studies, submit to you an overview of the studies, and make available some of the findings that we had from our current research.

Mr. COLEMAN. How is the 20 percent that goes to the States allocated? Is that totally at the discretion of the Secretary?

Mr. ROBINSON. No; it is not. We use again the guidelines of the formula for allocation to the States as well as the requirement for putting out by law money to our Indian and migrant programs. That is funded directly out of that reserve.

Mr. COLEMAN. That makes up the difference?

Mr. ROBINSON. That is correct.

Those funds that do go to the States—and some portion of the reserve will go—those funds are allocated again strictly on a formula basis in keeping with the intent of Congress in our law.

I know that might sound a little confusing but it is a rather involved formula. But what we are saying is that once we take and spread that 80 percent by State formula based on the two-part formula, children in poverty and youngsters who are in families which are AFDC recipients, then we determine that as we did and in this present year, fiscal year 1980, that we would like to see additional amounts of that reserve go to the States.

We simply go back to the State formulation.

Mr. COLEMAN. You just do not throw it at one or two States?

Mr. ROBINSON. No, absolutely not. We spread it, in keeping with the formula, to be sure——

Mr. COLEMAN. That is the question I was asking and that is the answer.

Mr. ROBINSON. Fine.

Mr. ANDREWS. Let me ask this, if I may. We are in the process, as all of us know, of taking another census count. Is the Department going to support those of us in Congress who want to go back to using only the statistics of the poor and leave AFDC out when we get current, accurate figures as to where the poor kids are?

Mr. ROBINSON. Mr. Chairman, that is a part of the discussion that is going on.

Ms. Kamara mentioned earlier in the Department in looking at that very issue, right now it seems that the overwhelming sentiment, again bowing to the will and intent of Congress, is to pretty much keep the formulation in place as it does now exist. But we have discussed among ourselves the possibility of going to the count of children in poverty only as one possibility of varying the percentage of youngsters in the formula from 50 percent who are AFDC recipients, varying that by some percentage to a lower percentage, let's say.

Mr. ANDREWS. Like zero, maybe?

Mr. ROBINSON. But at this point it seems that the prevailing sentiment is to keep it where it is. And that is in terms of our recommendation.

That of course is for the moment. The discussion will continue and a resolution of that issue will come out of the Department and will come to the Congress, I am sure, very soon.

Mr. ANDREWS. When we have an accurate count of where the poor kids are, I am unable to comprehend why you need additional factors within the formula. I can see that in 1975 to 1980, you have the argument that the census data you are relying on are for those kids who are no longer in Head Start. The statistics are 5 years old. There may have been a lot of displacement of poor families and so forth within the interim.

I can understand that, about midway between the census. But when we have a current census that tells us where the poor kids are, I cannot understand why we need to resort to some other factor in a formula that is based not on where the poor kids are, but rather where their parents do the most applying for AFDC. They apply far less in some parts of the country than in others.

We all know that to be true. Why do we not go by reliable data?

Mr. ROBINSON. I think the record will probably show that the Department did not recommend moving to the AFDC recipient as a basis for allocating funds in the initial instance. We will abide by whatever the Congress determines we should do, obviously in terms of that allocation formula. We will have to do that.

Mr. CORRADA. Mr. Chairman, will you yield?

Mr. ANDREWS. Yes.

Mr. CORRADA. Provided that we have a hold harmless provision to take care of those who are currently served. I generally believe, as does the chairman, that if we were able to have an accurate and adequate count of the children who are poor, going to other eligibility can only distort the need that is out there to serve these children.

I think though that one of the constraining factors unquestionably is the one related to money and that is if we have a number of existing programs and children who are being served in certain communities, there is obviously a concern that a substantial change in the formula might result in creating a sort of political program in those areas.

Perhaps it would be advisable to provide some sort of hold harmless to make sure that the members who come from districts in which they currently are participating as a result of the way the particuular districts are benefited, i.e., the way the formula is now, would not be against a possible change in the formula.

I am sure that we will spend a lot of time, Mr. Chairman, in trying to arrive at some sort of compromise with other members in this. But I think this is an important point.

Mr. ANDREWS. Very good.

To what extent do the organizations represented by each of you agree or disagree with the assumption that "poor" children can be or are synonymous with educationally disadvantaged children?

Is that an appropriate yardstick?

I am thinking now about the census.

You are saying the program really is to provide assistance to children who have a tendancy toward some kind of deprivation or disadvantage in terms of receiving a normal education.

Then is that saying that if they are poor, from poor families, then they are, in fact, educationally disadvantaged or deprived? Is that a reasonably good assumption? Is it 90 percent accurate or 80 percent or what?

Mr. PALMER. May I, sir?

Mr. ANDREWS. Yes.

Mr. PALMER. There is no question that with respect to high risk children, children whom we spend large amounts on subsequently for incarceration or remediation that they are found disproportionately among the poor. It does not mean that there are not high-risk children in the middle class as well.

Mr. ANDREWS. Would others agree with that?

Mr. WELKART. Yes. The danger is people take the reverse of the coin and say if the child is disadvantaged therefore he is an educational problem or something of this nature, and that is not true either on a 100-percent basis. It is simply a matter of a convergence of factors. That youngster is without sufficient economic support, often are youngsters who also have educational difficulties.

But it does not occur always that way.

Mr. ROBINSON. I think the data will probably show that many youngsters who come from deprived backgrounds, from low-income circumstances in many respects are normal children. In other words, they are intelligent human beings.

They simply do not have the opportunity to develop all of the abilities, the skills, all of the exposure which they need, to become good, fully functioning persons within our society and that is what the program tries to do and that is to supplement what they bring with them.

We do not buy the notion that there is something wrong with a child just because he or she is poor. We do not accept that deficit notion of human development. But, instead, they simply need some additional help.

That is the nature and purpose of the program, to determine what that help is and to provide that help for them.

Our notion is, and experience shows, that bright youngsters, genius even, if you will, is found in the poor population just as it is in any other segment of the nonpoor population. The question, the critical issue, becomes do they have the opportunity to develop the innate abilities and the skills which they are provided with and the fact is, coming from low-income circumstances, very often they do not.

Mr. ANDREWS. I do not believe that House rules permit those of you who are in attendance, other than the witnesses, to ask questions of a witness, but we just have a brief time remaining if anyone would like to ask a question, we, in turn, can refer it to the witness.

I wonder if any of you who are present have any comment or question. Obviously you are interested in the program or you would not be here, and share our concern.

I expect a lot of you have had a lot of experience with it.

There is no comment? The fifth amendment? [Laughter.]

Well, certainly we appreciate the attendance of all who are here and I expect that everyone here is probably making a contribution or has an interest in doing so. We encourage that. We also encourage the good work you are doing, Barbara and Mr. Robinson, and also the tremendous work that has been done in the studies with which you gentlemen and others have been associated.

We hope you will keep up the good work.

Yes, Barbara?

Ms. KAMARA. We would like to thank you for this opportunity for us to come and share with you a study that certainly shows a lot of positive results and has a lot of implications for programs that I know you certainly are very much concerned about.

I know you talked with Dr. Palmer about some juvenile justice programs and within the administration we do have the Youth Development Bureau and I do think that it will be important for us to share some of those findings with that particular component of our agency as well, to see how it is so we can make programs that are together with an administration more effective in having a much better impact on families and children in our country.

Mr. ANDREWS. I was intending to suggest that you not only share that information with them but also that perhaps they would share a little money back so that collectively we can, perhaps, continue some of these studies so as to relate the findings to purposes other than just consideration of Head Start, but also to child development or juvenile delinquency.

They even have more need to relate these children, about which these people now know so much, to the experience of that group of children as it relates to, in two instances, juvenile delinquency or child development.

Again, we thank you for a very fine morning and we are adjourning just on time. We did a good job at least in that respect and, I hope, in others.

We stand adjourned.

[Thereupon, at 12 noon the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at the call of the Chair.]

[Material submitted for inclusion in the record follows:]